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# MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN

AN HISTORICAL STUDY

OF THE

FIFTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY

JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE



BALTIMORE, 1893





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## INTRODUCTION.

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The following dissertation is an attempt to bring forward and emphasize whatever germs of historical truth there may lurk in the fifth chapter of the much disputed Book of Daniel. The keen knife of modern criticism, in the demonstration of the untenable character of the old orthodox position regarding the book, has so dissected and torn the work asunder, that whatever of truth there might be in it is now liable to be overlooked in the search for and exposition of the many unquestionable historical errors.

It seems therefore that the time has come, without denying the undoubted late origin of the Book of Daniel, to lay stress on the few grains of true history which the Maccabæan author has succeeded in gathering from the erring traditions of his time.

The writer of this dissertation, accordingly, offers a suggestion towards the elucidation of the mysterious sentence Ch. v. 25, and has endeavoured to show that it is not absolutely necessary to consider this part of Daniel a pure invention of the author, but that it is possible to detect even here an echo of real history. Abstracts of this dissertation have been published in the *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, No. 98, p. 94; and in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, April, 1892, pp. clxxxii-clxxxix.

The writer takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Professor Paul Haupt for many kindnesses and especially for the constant guidance and personal attention which have been given him in his work at the Johns Hopkins University.

BALTIMORE, February, 1893.



PRESS OF TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR,  
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## CHAPTER FIRST

### THE MYSTERIOUS WRITING.

Every reader of the Bible is familiar with the story of the feast of Belshazzar and the mysterious writing which appeared as a warning to the last king of Babylon. The enigmatical sentence has always been considered one of the most obscure of the many difficult scriptural passages which have awakened the interest and baffled the ingenuity of scholars. Indeed, up to the present decade no really satisfactory explanation of the phrase has been attained. Even if it be admitted that the events described in the fifth chapter of Daniel actually occurred, there are still two difficulties presented by the Biblical record; first, the true meaning of the sentence, and second, the reason why the writing was unintelligible to the hierogrammatists.

The ancient writers evidently regarded the three words *Mene*, *Tekel* and *Peres*<sup>1</sup> of verses 26, 27 and 28 as substantives. Josephus (*Antt.*, x. 11, 3) *e. g.*, translates them by ἀριθμός, σταθμός, κλάσμα, and Jerome by 'numerus, appensio, divisio.'

Among the more modern scholars the opinion has been advanced that מֵנָה and תִּקֵּל are preterites of the verbs מָנָה 'to count' and תָּקַל 'to weigh,' respectively, and that פָּרְסָן the last word of the phrase, is a plural participle of פָּרַס 'to divide.' The translation for verse 25 was accordingly suggested, 'numeravit, numeravit, appendit et dividunt.'

J. D. Michaelis, 'Daniel' p. 51, suggested reading מֵנָה מֵנָה "Der Zählende (God) hat gezählt," while Dereser and Bertholdt, ('Daniel' p. 389) following Theodotion and the Vulgate rejected one מֵנָה as an error of the copyist, who, according to their idea, may have written the word twice. Bertholdt

<sup>1</sup>Both the Greek and Latin translations have only the three words 'Mane, Thekel, Phares' in verse 25. See below, Appendix II, note 1, to verse 25.

<sup>2</sup>See Buxtorf, 'Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum,' col. 2623.

regarded the three words as participles, translating "Gezählt ist es, gewogen ist es, getheilt ist es." This opinion which was followed with certain modifications by almost all the subsequent critics<sup>3</sup> was never a satisfactory explanation, because, while it may be possible to regard מְנָא as a passive participle, the form of the other words תִּקֵּל and פֶּרֶס has always presented a difficulty.

The remark of Abr. Geiger in an explanation of a Mishnic passage in the *Ztschr. der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxi. (1867) p. 467 f. that the Tosephta regarded פֶּרֶס in the phrase מְנָא מְנָא וּפֶרֶס, as 'a half-mina,' should have given a clue to the true meaning of the mysterious sentence. No one however seems to have had a similar idea until of late years, when an entirely new light was thrown on the interpretation of the passage by the distinguished French archæologist M. Clermont-Ganneau, who, in 1886, published in the *Journal Asiatique* (*Série* viii. vol. I. pp. 36 ff.) an article entitled 'Mane, Thecel, Phares et le festin de Balthasar,' which appeared in an English translation in *Hebraica*, iii. pp. 87-102. Ganneau calls attention to the fact that the interpretation attributed to Daniel does not agree rigorously with the prophet's decipherment of the inscription, *i. e.*, that the interpretation given by the author in vv. 26, 27, 28, is based only on the three words *Mene*, *Tekel* and *Peres*, the plural form of the latter פֶּרֶסִין, which appears in v. 25 preceded by the conjunc-

<sup>3</sup> Compare among others, Hävernicks, 'Daniel,' 1832, p. 195, who explained the form תִּקֵּל as being caused by analogy with מְנָא; Lengerke, 'Daniel,' 1835, pp. 261, 262, who explains the three words as participles analogous in form to the fictitious form אִזִּיר (אִזִּיר) in chap. ii. 5, 8; and Hitzig, 'Daniel,' 1850, p. 84, who regarded תִּקֵּל as a middle pronunciation between תִּקֵּל and תִּקֵּל (from קֵל) containing the double meaning 'thou art weighed' and 'found too light,' a rather fanciful supposition which was objected to by Kranichfeld, 'Daniel,' 1868, p. 226. The latter considered תִּקֵּל not as a pure passive participle, but as a sort of passive preterite which passed to an intransitive. תִּקֵּל becoming תִּקֵּל by assonance with מְנָא. (Cf. also Keil, 'Daniel,' p. 158, who translated verse 25 "Gezählt, gezählt, gewogen und in Stücke.")

tion ו being disregarded. This difference between the text as read and the explanation, he thought could only be explained by the supposition that the Biblical author had to do with a set traditional phrase, from which it was necessary to bring out a certain interpretation adapted to the circumstances of the case.

Ganneau then proceeds to explain his important discovery which gives a new key to the meaning of the mysterious words. During an epigraphic mission to the British Museum in 1878, he found that the three letters on certain half mina-weights, which had previously been read קרש were in reality פרש = *paras* = half. As the weight bearing the inscription was equal to that of half of a light mina, he concluded that פרש must mean 'half-mina.' This discovery led him to decide that on the set of Ninevitic weights, engraved with letters approaching in form to the Aramaean characters, the three words, מנה = 'mina,' תקל = 'shekel' and פרש = 'half mina,' were to be found, and that these three names might correspond to the three chief words of the sentence in the fifth chapter of Daniel. Concluding then that the mysterious sentence may contain names of weights, he proceeds to apply this theory to the interpretation of the phrase, suggesting a number of conjectural translations for the entire sentence, no one of which throws any satisfactory light on the meaning. Reading פרסין as a dual form (פרסין), he proposes, *e. g.*, to transfer the ו from ופרסין to תקל, reading תקלו, imperative of תקל 'to weigh,' and to translate 'for every mina weigh two paras' or 'a mina is a mina, weigh two paras'; or, regarding the verb as a preterite, 'they have weighed two paras,' etc., (see *Hebraica*, iii. No. 2, pp. 96 ff.) The general conclusion at which he arrived was that 'the two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two names of weights, of which one is double the other, placed in relation by a third middle term, which is either a third name of weight (that of shekel) or the verb 'to weigh,' from which the name of shekel is derived.

This attempt of Ganneau was followed by an admirable paper published in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, i. pp. 414-418, by Theodor Nöldeke. Nöldeke accepted Ganneau's discovery that the phrase in Dan. v. contains names of weights,

but clearly saw in **תִּקְל** the shekel, explaining the three words **מִנָּה**, **תִּקְל**, and **פְּרָסָא**<sup>4</sup> as absolute forms of **מִנָּה**, **תִּקְלָא**, and **פְּרָסָא** respectively. In the case of **מִנָּה** he notices that the word for mina in Syriac occurs only in the emphatic state, **מִנָּה**, a form like **קִנָּה** 'reed.' Admitting that the absolute state of such words is scarcely ever found, he adds that according to all analogy, and especially after the manner of adjectives and participles like Syriac **רְכָא**, **גְּלָא**, (*st. emph.* **רְכִיא**), **מִנָּה** would have been in the older language the absolute state of **מִנָּה**. Regarding the **מִנָּה מִנָּה** of Dan. v. 25 as a repetition of the same word, he suggests accordingly the translation, 'a mina, a mina, a shekel and half-minas.'

A third attempt to explain the enigma was advanced in 1887 by Dr. Georg Hoffmann, of Kiel, who differed from Nöldeke only in suggesting that **תִּקְל** 'shekel' might be in apposition to **מִנָּה**, explaining **מִנָּה תִּקְל** as 'a mina in shekel pieces.' (*Ztschr. für Assyriol.*, ii. 45-48).

Ganneau's discovery and its critical scrutiny by Nöldeke have established the fact beyond doubt that **מִנָּה**, **תִּקְל** and **פְּרָסָא** of verse 25 are to be considered as names of weights.

It does not seem necessary, however, to regard **מִנָּה מִנָּה** as a repetition of the same word. As Nöldeke himself has noticed, but did not adopt in his interpretation, the form **מִנָּה** can be regarded as a passive participle Peal from **מִנָּה** 'to count,' as Aramaean and Syriac verbs *tertiæ Yôdh* form their passive participles in this manner (*fā'il*). In this way the mysterious sentence may be translated as follows: 'There have been counted a mina, a shekel and half-minas.' This translation which was suggested by Prof. Haupt in the session of the Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University of the year '86-87,<sup>5</sup> would seem to receive additional confirmation, when we consider the peculiar application of these names of

<sup>4</sup> It may be well to remark that Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*, 415) considered it against the spirit of the language to regard **פְּרָסָא** as a dual in form as did Ganneau. (*Hebraica* iii. p. 94; see above.) Hoffmann, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, ii. 46 has pointed out that in meaning, at least, the word has a dual force just as in **תּוּמִים** 'twins.'

<sup>5</sup> The Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 58, p. 104 and the Johns Hopkins University Annual Report, 1887, p. 13.



weights to the circumstances under which the writing appeared.

Ganneau, among a number of rather fanciful explanations recalled the Talmudic metaphorical usage of **מנה** and **פרס**, 'mina' and 'half-mina.' In the Talmudic writings we find occasionally the inferior son of a worthy father, called 'a half-mina son of a mina' (**פרס בן מנה**), while a son superior to his father is spoken of as 'a mina son of a half-mina' (**מנה בן פרס**), and a son equal to his father as 'a mina son of a mina' (**מנה בן מנה**)<sup>6</sup>. In a rather vague manner characteristic of his whole paper, Ganneau suggests that the Biblical author might have had in mind some such allusion, and hints without any definite explanation that a parallel might have been meant between Nebuchadnezzar, the father and Belshazzar the son. Referring to **פרסין**, he mentions that this word, owing to its resemblance to **פָּרַס** 'Persian,' may have determined the choice of the saying as a theme to explain the prophecy relative to the coming of the Persians.<sup>7</sup> It is certainly safe to say that Ganneau arrived at no definite conclusion on the subject. On the last page of his article, he fancifully compares the whole scene of Chapter v. both to a vignette from the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead' and to the scene often found on Assyrian seal-cylinders, representing a god seated on a throne holding a vase for libations, a candelabrum, an inscription on the seal and two persons, one of whom presents the other to the god. Babylon and Egypt he thought may have influenced the author of Daniel in his description of the feast of Belshazzar!

Nöldeke with his usual caution attempted nothing beyond the mere grammatical explanation of the words, but Hoffmann (p. 46 of his article) considered that **פרסין**, 'two half-minas,' referred to a division of the Empire between the Mede Darius and the Persian Cyrus.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Ta'anith* 21<sup>b</sup>, **מוטב יבא מנה בן פרס אצל מנה** : **בן מנה ואל יבא מנה בן מנה אצל מנה בן פרס** : 'It is good that a mina son of a half-mina come to a mina son of a mina, but not that a mina son of a mina should come to a mina son of a half-mina,' cited by Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, ii. p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> This paronomasia was remarked also by Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' p. 389, Lengerke, 'Daniel,' p. 262, and others.

We have seen that the mysterious sentence contains three names of weights grouped together in a strange order, the two greater quantities being separated by the lesser; *i. e.* mina, shekel and half-minas. It may be supposed that beneath these terms lies some typical meaning which is not fully brought out in the explanation of the sentence by Daniel. The interpretation which the writer puts into the mouth of the prophet is based on a paronomasia. Thus, mina (מִנָּה) is explained by מָנָה 'to count.' 'God has counted thy kingdom and finished it.' Shekel (תִּקְלָל) is explained by תִּקַּל 'to weigh.' 'Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting.' Half-mina (פֶּרֶס) is explained by פָּרַס 'to divide.' 'The kingdom has been divided (פְּרִיסָה) and given to the Medes and Persians.' In the latter case there is clearly a double paronomasia on פָּרַס 'Persian.'

Professor Haupt, following up the idea of Ganneau regarding the symbolical meaning of the words, explained the mina, which is the largest Babylonian weight, as an allusion to the great King Nebuchadnezzar; the shekel, one sixtieth as valuable,\* as the symbol of Belshazzar, whom the author of Daniel considered the unworthy son and successor of the founder of the Babylonian empire; and the two half-minas as referring to the division of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar between the Medes and Persians. If the sentence be understood in this way, as indicating a comparison of persons, it becomes clear that מִנָּה מִנָּה can hardly be considered a repetition of the same word, as there would be no point in thus repeating the symbol for Nebuchadnezzar. The mysterious sentence therefore implies a scathing comparison of the unworthy last king of Babylon with his great predecessor, and a prophecy of

\* It is well known that the weight mina contained 60 shekels, this shekel serving also as the smallest gold unit; *i. e.*, a gold shekel weighed one sixtieth of the weight mina. The money mina on the other hand contained only 50 shekels. See Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, under מִנָּה and compare C. F. Lehmann, in *Verhandlungen der physikalischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, published February, 1890, p. 95, also *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, March, 1889, p. 249, 'Encycl. Brit.' xvii. 631 and Haupt, *Akkad. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 55, 42: *Çibit 1 ma-na, 12 šigli-tan*, 'the interest of one mina is twelve shekels; *i. e.*, at 20 per cent.

the speedy downfall of the native Babylonian dynasty and the division of the empire between the Medes and Persians. Nebuchadnezzar, practically the founder of the Babylonian empire and really the greatest name of the time, might well be called the mina. The author of Daniel throughout the fifth chapter is perfectly right in comparing him with the insignificant last king. As will be seen from the subsequent discussion of the various accounts regarding the fall of Babylon, the two chief points in the later Babylonian history are really the rise and development of the empire under Nebuchadnezzar and its final overthrow under Belshazzar's father Nabonidus, so that the Biblical author in choosing Nebuchadnezzar as the father of Belshazzar, although inaccurate as to detail, nevertheless reflects faithfully the general historical facts of the period.

The Medes and Persians were the people who destroyed the unity of the Babylonian power and divided between them the great empire of Nebuchadnezzar. The Medes, a brief outline of whose history, previous to their subjugation by the Persians, is given below, attained the height of their greatness under Cyaxares, who subdued the Assyrians and laid waste Nineveh their proud capital. Although attaining a considerable influence in the farther East, they were certainly never a world power until their union with the Persians under Cyrus. This combination was sufficient to subjugate the entire West and to establish an empire which lasted for centuries. Why the author of Daniel introduces a Median dynasty before the Persians is discussed fully hereafter.

But why was it that the learned scribes whom the king summoned to decipher the inscription were totally unable to read and interpret the sentence?

To explain this difficulty a great number of conjectures have been advanced by various commentators.<sup>9</sup> Thus Lüderwald in his 'Critical examination of the first six chapters of Daniel,' (quoted by Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' p. 346) considered the portent as a vision of the king alone, which no one save the super-

<sup>9</sup> For a collection of the opinions of the older commentators, cf. Pfeiffer 'Dubia Vexata,' p. 503, quoted by Bertholdt, p. 350.



naturally gifted Daniel could interpret.<sup>10</sup> This is the same as Calvin's conjecture, which he offered as one of two possible hypotheses: "probabile est vel scripturam fuisse regi propositam, et latuisse omnes Chaldaeos vel ita excaecatos fuisse; ut videndo non viderunt, quemadmodum etiam Deus saepe ejusmodi stuporem denuntiat Judaeis." See edition of Baum, Cunitz and Reuss, *vol. xl, col. 704.*)

Nothing in the text of chapter v. however, seems to support such a view. The evident terror not only of the king but also of his lords, and the statement in verse 8, that the wise men could neither read nor interpret the writing seem to show that the author had no intention of representing the portent as merely a freak of the king's brain.

Some of the Talmudists thought that the words were written according to the Cabbalistic alphabet **אתבש**; *i. e.* one in which the first letter has the last as its equivalent.<sup>11</sup> It may be well to note in connection with this from the Ethiopic correspondence of Job Ludolf published by Flemming in the second volume of Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*,<sup>12</sup> that a similar cryptographic method of writing involving the interchange of letters was known to the Abyssinians.

It is hardly worth while to discuss here the idea advanced by some of the other Talmudists that the characters of the mysterious sentence were arranged in three lines as a sort of table and were to be read vertically and not horizontally.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See D. S. Margoliouth, 'Jephth Ibn Ali's Daniel,' p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> See Buxtorf, 'Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum,' col. 248, and Levy, 'Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,' under **אאלרן**, **אדך**, **יטת**. **אאלרן** however is due to a process quite different to **אתבש**. For the opinion that the sentence was a cryptogram compare Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 805, and for all these views see Sanhedrim 22<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 110.

<sup>13</sup> See Ganneau, *loc. cit.*, p. 88. Some considered the sentence as an anagram; see Levy, 'Neuhebr. und Chald. Wörterb.', under **אנס**; while two of the older commentators, Menochius and Maldonatus thought that only the initial letters of each word were written. (They are quoted by Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' p. 350). Jephth Ibn Ali, the Karaite, held the view that the words were written backward; for example **מנא** was arranged as if it were **אנס**, and that the letters of all the four words were similarly transposed. See Margoliouth's translation, p. 26. Pfeiffer, p. 808, expressed the opinion that the words were written in 'Chaldaean' letters which were intricately arranged.

Thube and others, at the end of the last century, (quoted by Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' 351), held that the writing may have appeared in such unusual characters as to prevent its decipherment by the hieroglyphmatists; and the Göttingen Professor of Biblical Philology, the late Ernst Bertholdt, suggested that it may have been written in some complicated flourished handwriting (Charakterschrift, 'Daniel,' p. 379). It is interesting to note in this connection that so great a scholar as Johann David Michaelis, of Göttingen, was the author of the following wild but amusing theory. He translated the expression 'end of the hand' (see below, Appendix II. note to verse 5), by 'the inner surface of the hand.' That is, the hand must have appeared to the king as if writing from the other side of the wall, which by some mysterious means had become transparent! The writing was therefore reversed as if in a mirror, which fact remained unnoticed until Daniel was summoned (see Michaelis, 'Daniel,' pp. 49-50). Some scholars, on the other hand, believed that the inscription may have been in a foreign language or character unknown to the wise men. Thus Prideaux (quoted by Bertholdt, 348) suggested Old Phœnician, while Pusey ('Daniel,' 376) believed it may have been written in the old Hebrew script. Finally, some recent critics, evidently under Assyriological influence, have inclined to the opinion that the words presented themselves to the king in the Babylonian ideographic character.<sup>14</sup>

The question as to the difficulty of decipherment is really narrowed down to one of two hypotheses. The reason why the learned scribes whom the king had summoned were totally unable to read or interpret the writing must have been that the mysterious sentence appeared either in a foreign language or in an unusual form of the vernacular. Had the warning been written in a foreign language, the probability is that it would have been immediately recognized at so cosmopolitan a court as the Babylonian, which had come in contact with so many foreign nations. Then, too, had the writing appeared in an

<sup>14</sup> So, for instance, Andreä, in his article on the Feast of Belshazzar in *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1888, pp. 263-264, and de Lagarde in his admirable review of E. Havet's *La modernité des prophètes*, in *Mittheilungen*, iv. p. 364 = *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1891, p. 519.

unknown idiom, the effect of the interpretation would have been, to a great extent, lost on the king. But as soon as the explanation was given, Belshazzar understood it perfectly.

It is certainly most natural to suppose that the inscription was originally written in the Babylonian language and in the cuneiform script, having been translated later and handed down in the Aramæan in the form which we find in the Book of Daniel.<sup>15</sup> This view is strengthened by the fact that the sentence can be reproduced in Babylonian with surprisingly little change.

The Aramæan sentence, as given in the twenty-fifth verse of the fifth chapter, reads מִנָּה מִנָּה תִּקַּל וּפְרָסִין. As stated above, the first מִנָּה is probably to be considered as a passive participle from מָנָה 'to count.' In this case the corresponding form in Assyrian would be *manû*.<sup>16</sup> The second מִנָּה meaning mina is equivalent to the Assyrian *manû* = 'mina,' usually written ideographically *ma-na* and in form the passive participle of *manû* 'to count.' The Assyrian word for mina, although generally occurring ideographically, is occasionally found written *plene*. Thus in Nebuchadnezzar 17, 6; 189. 5,

<sup>15</sup> Kamphausen in his pamphlet, 'Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung,' 1893, pp. 45, 46, has unintentionally misrepresented me, as stating in the *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, No. 98, p. 94, that the author of the Book of Daniel was familiar with the cuneiform inscriptions! I merely indicated that the *original* of the mysterious sentence may have been in Babylonian.

<sup>16</sup> Passives with internal vowel change have not been lost in Assyrian but are not developed. The active and passive participles are not yet sharply distinguished, the difference being merely arbitrary. For examples of the passive participle, cf. the frequent *kîma lâbirîšu šaṭîr* = 'written like its original,' and *šapûx êpru* = 'dust is spread.' See Haupt, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1878, p. 244. We may compare in this connection the frequent passive meaning of the Intensive Permansive. See Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 11.

The Assyrian Permansive must be considered the prototype of the common Semitic Perfect, as there are no evidences that Assyrian once possessed and then lost its Perfect. J. A. Knudtzon in the *Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, vii, p. 48 (April, 1892), goes too far, however, in demanding a common name for both the Permansive and Perfect, as they are by no means fully identical. The Assyrian Permansive is not a stereotyped tense like the ordinary Semitic Perfect, as the language can use any noun or adjective in a permansive sense by suffixing the pronominal endings. See in this connection Haupt, *loc. cit.*, p. 246.

in Tallquist, 'Sprache der Contracte Nabunâ'ids,' p. 96, we find the form *ma-nu-u*; in Nebuch. 46. 8. 4. in Strassmaier, 'Babylonische Texte,' *ma-ni*; and in Nebuch. 67. 4; 176. 5; 282. 5, in Strassmaier, 'Bab. Texte,' *ma-ni-e*. *Manû* is a form like *qanû* 'reed.'<sup>17</sup>

It is interesting to notice that the familiar Mammon (*Μαμωνᾶς*) of the New Testament may be a loan word from the same stem as *manû*, mina. There is an Assyrian word *mannînu* probably meaning 'a vessel capable of holding a mina full,' which occurs in the El Amarna inscriptions, frequently in connection with *bigru*. Jensen considered rightly that *bigru* and *mannînu* are the prototype of the Mandæan **ארגבא ומ'ננא** 'money and property,' with metathesis in the case of *bigru* and **ארגבא**. A similar change of consonants he finds in *barqullu* 'stonecutter' and **ארגובלא**.<sup>18</sup> Nöldeke, 'Mand. Gram.', p. 50, connects Mandæan **מ'ננא** with the Syriac **ܡܡܢܐ**, *Μαμωνᾶς*. It is extremely probable, therefore, that *mannînu* is the original of *Μαμωνᾶς*. Hoffmann's idea is, of course, untenable that **ܡܢܨܐ** is a loan word from the Phœnician **מנס** 'treasures,' which, he thinks, is connected with the Greek *νόμ(σ)μα*. (See Nestle, 'Syriac Grammar'—Engl. edition, p. xi.) **מנס** is probably a plural of **מנה**, mina, and is consequently purely a Semitic stem. (Compare Levy, 'Phœnizisches Wörterbuch,' 1864.)

Shekel, the third word of the mysterious sentence, by regular mutation of **ת** and **ש**, corresponds to the Assyrian *šiqḷu*, from *šaqālu* 'to weigh.' The word is almost invariably written ideographically **ṬU**, but the form *šiqḷu* is now established as the proper pronunciation.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Note that a number of forms like *qanû* suffer apocope of the long final vowel in the construct state. Thus *qanû*—*qan*; *šadû*, 'mountain,' *šad*; *našû*, 'bearer,' *naš*; *rašû*, 'possessor,' *raš*; *rabû*, 'great,' *rab*.

<sup>18</sup> For the Mandæan **ארגבא ומ'ננא**, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 50, and for **ארגובלא** compare Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 293, rem. 2; 352, rem. For examples of metathesis see Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v. 164, n. 4.

<sup>19</sup> See Bruno Meissner, *Ztsch. für Assyriologie*, vii. (April, 1892), p. 20. *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 93. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, 44, n. 4, and Lehmann in a metrological paper in the *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, June 20, 1891, p.

Oppert's reading for T<sup>U</sup>, *daragmana* (*Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, i. 430), he has himself abandoned. (See *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i. 496.) *Šiqļu* is a form like *šibtu* 'staff'; *igru* 'hire,' etc.

The last word of the phrase פָּרְסִין 'half minas,' plural of פָּרְסָא, is equivalent to the Assyrian *parsu* 'a part,' from *parāsu* 'to separate.'<sup>20</sup> *Parsu* means technically a section of a chapter or a paragraph. (See *Keilinschr., Bibliothek*, ii. p. 284, l. 39.)

Combining then these words as in the Aramæan of Daniel, the supposed Assyro-Babylonian original may be restored as follows: *manû mana šiqļu u parsāni*, 'there have been counted a mina, a shekel and parts.'<sup>21</sup> (Parts of a mina = half-minas.) 'Counted' means, of course, in this connection, 'the following has been fixed by fate.' We may compare the use of מְנָה in Isaiah lxv. 12, 'and I will allot you to the sword.' (וּמְנִיתִי); Psalm cxlvii. 4, 'He fixes the number of the stars' (מִמְנֵה מִסְפַּר לְכוֹכְבִּים):

If it be thus assumed that the mysterious inscription appeared in the Babylonian language and in cuneiform characters, it is easy to explain the inability of the king and his lords, and even of the skilled scribes to decipher the writing, as an ideographic rendering of these names of weights would have baffled the

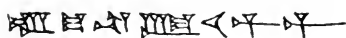
518, n. 1. The stem *šaqālu* may be a shaphel formation from *qālu* 'be light.' Compare *sakānu* probably from כָּוַן and *šarāru* from אָוַר. In the case of *šaqālu*, however, the š is a ש, appearing in Arabic as ش, while the š of the shaphel is š, because we find it in Arabic as س. We may explain this by supposing that such a form as ثَقُل with ث was borrowed from a dialect where the original ش of the shaphel was lisped like ت. Compare the case of פִּתְרוֹן. See below, Appendix II., note to verse 7, and *Beiträge zur Assyriol.*, i. 181, note 2.

<sup>20</sup> *parāsu* = 'separate,' in Asurb., ix. 46; 'check, stop,' in Sennach., vi. 14, iv. R. 57, 7a, East India House Inscr., ii. 19;—'quarrel,' in iv. 58, 22;—'alienate,' in Asurb., iii. 83.

<sup>21</sup> Professor Haupt informs me that Dr. P. Jensen of Strassburg in a University lecture explained the mysterious words of Dan. v. as having probably come from some Assyrian proverb, which he thinks might have read about as follows: *manû manê šaqļu parsê*, 'minas were counted but half minas were weighed.' Jensen thought that this phrase was used whenever anything proved of less value than first appearances seemed to warrant.



ingenuity of the most expert scholars of the Babylonian court. Of course it cannot be denied, as Lagarde has pointed out, that the ideographic values of these four words, 'count, mina, shekel and part,' were undoubtedly signs with which any educated Babylonian was familiar. ('Mittheilungen,' iv. 364.) If, however, we suppose that the ideograms were written close together without any division between the individual words, a style of writing we often meet with in the cuneiform inscriptions, thus:



it would be just as hard to read as a rebus and would puzzle the most skillful decipherer. The difficulty would have been still more increased if the ideograms had been grouped in some unusual way, severing the natural connection of the component elements; for example, thus:



If the signs had been written in this manner it would have been almost impossible to arrive at their true meaning. The first combination, ŠID-MA, might have some fifteen different meanings, the second group, NA-TU-U, might signify 'is fit' or 'suitable,' while the third and last, BAR-BAR, is capable of explanation in a variety of ways.<sup>22</sup> Of course, as soon as one is told the meaning of the combination, the sentence at once becomes clear.

De Lagarde (*l. c.*) has amusingly remarked that the riddle is of the same nature as that of the Innsbrucker who, as a greeting to his emperor coming to the Tyrolean capital, had the figure of a Franciscan monk painted on his house with the word 'wie' written over it. The rebus is to read 'Wie Franz ist kärer' (Tyrolese pronunciation for 'keiner'). This, however, is hardly a good parallel. A better illustration of the nature of the mysterious sentence may be found in the tricky Latin phrases often given in Latin primers in Germany: *i. e.* 'no bis per pontem,' 'anser bibit magis ter,' 'mea mater est mala sus,' etc.

<sup>22</sup> For ŠID-MA see Brünnow's 'List,' nos. 5964-5981 and 5997-8. For *naṭû*, meaning 'is fit, suitable,' see 'Nimrod Epic.' 67, l. 18. while for BAR-BAR, compare again Brünnow, no. 1728 ff.

## CHAPTER SECOND.

### THE HISTORICAL INACCURACIES OF THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL.

The above more or less conjectural explanations have been offered under the supposition that the account given in the fifth chapter of Daniel is to a certain extent historical. It cannot be denied, however, that if the fifth chapter, and indeed the entire book of Daniel be regarded as pretending to *full* historical authority, the Biblical record is open to all manner of attack. The Book of Daniel must not be considered as intended by the author to be a veracious account of events which took place at the time of the fall of Babylon, but rather as a political pamphlet of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is now the general opinion of most scholars who study the Old Testament from a critical point of view, that the Book of Daniel cannot have originated, according to the accepted theory,\* at the time of Cyrus. The following are the chief reasons for such a conclusion.

It should be noticed, *first*, that the position of the Book among the Hagiographa instead of among the **נביאים** would seem to indicate that it must have been introduced after the closing of the Prophetic Canon. The explanation that the Apocalyptic nature of the work did not entitle it to a position among the Prophetic books is hardly satisfactory. Some commentators believed that Daniel was not an actual **נביא** or prophet, in the proper sense, but only a seer (**חֹזֶה**—so Hävernick), or else that he was a prophet merely by natural gifts, but not by official standing.<sup>1</sup> If Daniel, however, had really

\* See additional note A.

<sup>1</sup> The explanation originated with the Rabbinical writers that Daniel had the **רוח הקדש** 'spirit of holiness,' but not the **רוח הנבואה** 'the official inspiration' (Qamchi, 'Preface to the Psalms'; Maimon. 'More Nebochim,' 2. 41, 119, quoted by Bertholdt, p. xiii). The Rabbinical device was followed and elaborated by a number of the later orthodox commentators. Thus, Außerlen, 'Daniel, pp. 34, 35, Franz Delitzsch in Herzog und Plitt's Real Encycl. iii. 271, 272, 'Commentary on Isaiah,' p. 3, Keil, 'Daniel,' p. 23, etc. See also in this connection Kranichfeld, 'Daniel,' p. 9, Lengerke, 'Daniel,' p. 565, etc.

seen the visions which are attributed to him by the work bearing his name, he was certainly a great prophet, and, as has been pointed out by Bleek, would have had fully as much right to be ranked as such as Amos, Ezekiel or Zechariah.<sup>2</sup> The natural explanation regarding the position of the Book of Daniel is that the work could not have been in existence at the time of the completion of the second part of the canon, as otherwise the collectors of the prophetic writings, who in their case did not neglect even the parable of Jonah, would hardly have ignored the record of such a great prophet as Daniel is represented to be.

*Secondly*, the silence of Jesus Sirach concerning Daniel seems to show that the prophet was unknown to that late writer. Jesus Sirach, in his list of celebrated men (chapter 49), makes no mention of Daniel, but passes from Jeremiah to Ezekiel and then to the twelve minor prophets and Zerubbabel. If Daniel had been known to Jesus Sirach we would certainly expect to find him in this list, probably between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Again the only explanation appears to be that the Book of Daniel was not known to Jesus Sirach, who wrote between 200 and 180 B. C. Had so celebrated a person as Daniel been known, he could hardly have escaped mention in such a complete list of Israel's leading spirits. Hengstenberg remarked that Ezra and Mordecai were also left unmentioned, but the case is not parallel. Daniel is represented in the work attributed to him as a great prophet, while Ezra appears as nothing more than a rather prominent priest and scholar.

A *third* argument against an early origin for the book is the fact that the post-exilic prophets exhibit no trace of its influence. Had the Book of Daniel been extant and generally known since the time of Cyrus, it would be reasonable to look for some sign of its power among the writings of prophets like Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

<sup>2</sup> Bleek, 'Einleitung,' 5th ed., 418. In the LXX. the book is placed directly after Ezekiel, which shows that the translators considered it a prophetic work. Compare in this connection the opinion of Jachja (quoted by Bertholdt, *loc. cit.*) who attributed to Daniel the highest degree of prophetic inspiration ; הנבואה קצה הגרול .

In addition to this, the actual contents of the book itself seem to preclude the supposition of even an approximately contemporary origin for the work. The Book of Daniel differs materially from all other prophetic writings of the Old Testament in the especial details of its prophecies. Other prophets confine themselves to vague and general predictions, but the Book of Daniel gives a detailed account of historical events which may easily be recognized and identified through the thin veil of prophetic mystery thrown lightly around them. If it be supposed that the book originated at the time of Cyrus, the positiveness with which events of the far future are prophesied is certainly strange. It is highly suggestive that while the Book of Daniel contains an account of a long series of historical events, just those occurrences which are the most remote from the assumed standpoint of the writer are the most correctly stated, while the nearer we approach to the author's supposed time, the more inaccurate does he become. This has especial application to the last chapters, x.-xii., where the combats between the Ptolemaides and Seleucides are so clearly laid before the reader that the visions have more the appearance of history than prophecy. In addition to this correctness of detail, the chronological reckoning by days for future events is very striking. (*Cf.* chapter viii. 14; xii. 11, 12.)

\*The Hebrew prophets rarely set definite times for future occurrences, and when they do, give a date in round numbers. (Except, of course, in the interpolated passage, Is. vii. 8—in which connection see Delitzsch, 'Comm. on Isaiah,' *p.* 137.) The prophecies in the Book of Daniel seem to centre on the period of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Syrian prince was endeavoring to suppress the worship of Jehovah and substitute for it the Greek idolatry. These passages either break off directly with the overthrow of this prince or else add a prophecy of freedom for God's people from all oppressions and the announcement of a Messianic Kingdom and the resurrection of the dead. A comparison of the Apocalyptic and narrative chapters makes it apparent that we have the same prophecies in all, repeated in different forms. The vision of the colossal image in ch. ii. is evidently identical with the vision of the four beasts in ch. vii. In the 'Little Horn,' ch. vii. 8; viii. 9 and

the wicked prince described in chs. ix.-xi., who is to work such evil among the saints, we have clearly one and the same person. Moreover, in all the prophecies, a period of trial and tribulation is followed by the triumph\* of the Lord and his saints. According to the Book of Daniel four distinct empires are to arise, during which time the sufferings of the saints are to increase until they culminate at the end of the fourth empire under a prince worse than all his predecessors, after which the Kingdom of God is to appear. A careful examination of the book makes it apparent that the author believed that Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son, Belshazzar, who was displaced by Darius the Median, and he in turn followed by Cyrus the Persian. It seems evident, therefore, that in the mind of the author the four empires were: first, the Babylonian, represented by Nebuchadnezzar and his immediate successor, Belshazzar; second, that of Darius the Median; third, the Persian empire of Cyrus, and fourth, the empire of Alexander and his successors, culminating at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. (Compare Reuss, 'Geschichte des Alten Testaments,' p. 595. ff.) It is now generally recognized that ch. xi. 21-45, refers to the evil deeds of Antiochus IV. and his attempts against the Jewish people and the worship of Jehovah. In chapter xii. follows the promise of salvation from the tyrant. In ch. viii. the king symbolized by the 'Little Horn,' of whom it is said that he will come from one of four kingdoms which shall be formed from the Greek empire after the death of its first king, can be none other than Antiochus Epiphanes. In like manner do the references in ch. ix. plainly allude to this prince. (Compare in this connection Bleek, 'Einleitung,' pp. 420. ff.) It would be extremely difficult to reconcile these facts with the theory of a Babylonian authorship for the book, because, setting aside the marvel of such accurate prophecy centuries before the events referred to, it would be natural to expect that a prophet of the time of the Babylonian captivity would rather direct his attention to the freedom of his people from their servitude in Babylon than from the oppression of a king who ruled centuries later. It would be

\* See additional note B.

more natural, too, to expect in an early work prophecies of the return of the Jews to Palestine, as in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, rather than the proclamation of an ideal Messianic kingdom, such as we find in the Book of Daniel.

Not only do the Apocalyptic portions of the book seem to preclude the theory of a Babylonian authorship,<sup>3</sup> but the numerous inaccuracies in the narrative sections make it equally difficult to hold such a view. Such statements as are found, for example, in the fifth chapter only, which will be fully discussed below, can hardly date from Babylonian times. No writer living at the Babylonian court of Cyrus could have asserted, for instance, that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>4</sup> or have interpolated a Median ruler between the last king of Babylon and the Persians. Nor are these historical inaccuracies by any means confined to ch. v. Among the most important occurring in other narrative sections, should be mentioned; *first*, The chronological error in ch. i., that Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem as king of Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, while it is known from Jeremiah xxv. 1, that the former did not begin to reign in Babylon until the fourth year of the latter, and that the Babylonians in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim had not yet come to Jerusalem. (From Jeremiah xxxvi. 9, 29; see Bleek, *op. cit.*, 427). The origin of this error has been traced to a false combination of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 *f.* and 2 Kings, xxiv. 1. (See Kamphausen, 'Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung,' p. 17). *Second*, The statement in ch. ii. 1, that Nebuchadnezzar had his famous dream in the second year of his reign, is in direct

<sup>3</sup> For the evident lateness of the second part of the book, *cf.* Bleek, 'Einleitung,' p. 420; Strack, Herzog and Plitt's 'Real Encyclopædie,' vii<sup>2</sup>. 419; Hoffmann, 'Antiochus,' iv. pp. 82 ff; Driver, 'Introduction to the Study of Old Testament Literature,' p. 461. It has been remarked that the contents of ch. ix, referring to Jerusalem, would remove all further doubt as to the late origin. (See Derenbourg, *Hebraica*, iv. 8, note 1.)

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to notice that as early as A.D. 1757, Goebel, 'De Belsasaro,' (see Reuss, 'Geschichte,' p. 602), called attention to this historical error. Reuss mentions also Sartorius, 'Hist. Excid. Babyl.' (Tübingen, 1766); Norberg, *Opp.* iii. 222.

contradiction to ch. i. where it is asserted that Nebuchadnezzar was king when Daniel and his companions were taken into captivity and that the latter were trained three years at court. The interpretation of the dream must have taken place after this period of three years, and consequently later than the second year of Nebuchadnezzar.

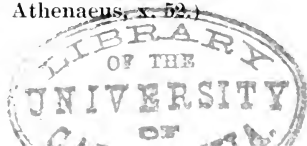
An additional evidence that the Book of Daniel must have been written at a considerably later period than the Persian conquest of Babylon may be found in the presence of both Persian and Greek loanwords. The occurrence of the former shows conclusively that the book must have originated after the conquest of Babylon,<sup>5</sup> while the presence of Greek words appears to preclude the possibility of setting the origin of the work prior to the time of Alexander the Great. The names of the three musical instruments in chapter iii; סוּפֹנִיָּה, verse 5, 15 (also v. 10 in the form סִפְנִיָּה), פִּסְתִּירִין and קִיתָרֹס<sup>6</sup> are undoubtedly loanwords from the Greek *συμφωνία*, *ψαλτήριον* and *κίθαρς*.<sup>7</sup>

It can hardly be supposed that these three essentially Greek names of musical instruments were current at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. While there was in all likelihood some intercourse, even at that time, between the Asiatics and the Ionians in Asia Minor, it does not seem probable that the influence was then strong enough to cause the adoption by the Babylonians of Greek musical instruments and even of their Greek names. In Assyrian literature the first mention of the Ionians occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon (722–705 B. C.) who relates that he conquered the ‘*Yamná*’ who dwelt ‘in the

<sup>5</sup> The theory advanced by Strack in Zöckler’s ‘Handbuch,’ i. 165, and ‘Real Encycl.’, vii.<sup>2</sup> 419, that the occurrence of Persian loanwords necessarily points to a pre-Maccabaeen origin for these sections does not seem tenable. It is quite conceivable that Persian loanwords should have remained until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. For the opinion that the origin of the book of Daniel must be pre-Maccabaeen see Additional Note B.

<sup>6</sup> For the termination -os in Hebrew, compare Ges. ‘Thesaurus,’ p. 1215.

<sup>7</sup> Compare in this connection Cheyne, ‘Encycl. Britannica,’ vi. 803, 807; Driver, ‘Introduction,’ 470. Derenbourg, *Hebraica*, ii. pp. 7ff. It is interesting to notice that the *ψαλτήριον* was a favorite instrument of Antiochus Epiphanes. (See Polybius: Athenaeus, x. 52.)



midst of the sea.' Abydenus in Eusebius (*Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 1. 35) tells of Sargon's successor Sennacherib that he conquered the fleet of the Greeks on the Cilician coast: 'In maris litore terrae Cilicum classem navali proelio certantem navium Græcorum profligans vicit.' Sennacherib himself relates that he manned his ships with 'malâxe âl Qurrâ, âl Cidunâ, mâl Yamnâ,' i. e. 'with Tyrian, Sidonian and Ionian sailors.' (Senn. Smith, l. 91.) Neither in the later Assyrian nor in the Babylonian inscriptions does any further allusion to the Greeks occur. In fact not until the time of Darius Hystaspis, two hundred years later do we hear anything more of them. This king speaks frequently of a 'mât Yâmanu,' evidently referring, not to Greece proper but to the Greek territory in Asia Minor. (See in this connection Delitzsch *Wo lag das Paradies*, pp. 248 ff., and Schrader *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 81–82). In view of the absolute silence of the Babylonian inscriptions, it may be inferred that the Greek influence, later so powerful had not yet begun to make itself perceptible in the East. With regard to the opinion of Prætorius in his review of Delitzsch, 'Hebrew and Assyrian,' in Kuhn's *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, i. 195, that perhaps centuries before Ašurbanipal a loanword from the non-Semitic languages of anterior Asia may have crept into the idioms of the Assyrians, Hebrews, Aramæans and even of the non-Semitic Sumerians, it seems to me difficult to come to any definite conclusion. It appears equally possible to consider the Assyrian *pilaqu* axe (the word in question) either as a loanword from the Greek *πέλεκυς* according to this suggestion,\* or to suppose that the word is original in Semitic and crept into the Indo-Germanic languages at a very early date, perhaps even before they differentiated. (So Lehmann 'Šamaššumukîn' p. 127, who believes that the word is from the Sumerian *bala(g)*). At any rate this word certainly gives no assistance towards determining the period when Greeks and Semites first met.

\* Both Fränkel and Prætorius hold this opinion. Compare also Lagarde 'Ges. Abhandl.', 49. 10., Haupt 'Sumerische Familiengesetze,' 55, n. 5. Delitzsch 'Assyrische Studien,' 133—all quoted Haupt, 'Beiträge,' i. 171 n.



The object of the author of the Book of Daniel, in both the apocalyptic and narrative portions of the work, appears to be to comfort his oppressed people, demonstrating in the one case, by means of prophetic visions, the nearness of their salvation and showing in the narrative sections by means of carefully arranged tales the inevitable overthrow of blasphemers against God. The stories of the fiery furnace and the lion's den are both excellent illustrations of the divine protection of the faithful during the pagan persecution, while in the account of the lycanthropy of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter iv. the author seems to have had the intention of holding up the fate of the mighty Babylonian prince who had destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple, as a warning to Antiochus Epiphanes to desist in time from his blasphemous opposition to the King of Kings.

To proceed, however, more especially to the fifth chapter. As has been mentioned above, it must be admitted that this section, which is the Biblical record of the fall of the Babylonian dynasty, contains certain striking inaccuracies. As will be seen subsequently, however, in spite of the manifest errors of the writer, it is not impossible that the account may have an historical background.

The chief inaccuracies of chapter v. of which a brief discussion will be necessary are three in number :

A. The last king of Babylon is called Belshazzar (a name occurring only in Daniel and in the apocryphal passage, Baruch i. 11), and it is clearly stated that he was the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

B. The queen mother is introduced at a feast on the eve of the fall of Babylon.

C. It is stated (v. 31) that a Median king, Darius, received the kingdom after the fall of the native Babylonian house.

The first point which should receive attention is the erroneous statement regarding Belshazzar. The name Belshazzar, previous to the discovery of the inscriptions was held to have been invented by the author of Daniel. (So Von Lengerke, 204; Hitzig, 75. It is now generally admitted, however, to be identical with the Babylonian form *Belšaruṣur* which

has been discovered in the cuneiform documents<sup>9</sup> as the name of the eldest son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon.<sup>10</sup> Among the various allusions to this prince in the cuneiform literature, the most important are those in the two inscriptions of Ur, and in the annals of Nabonidus, the chief document relating to the fall of Babylon. As the reference in the small inscription<sup>11</sup> of Ur is the most complete and consequently the most important, I append a translation and transcription. In this document Nabonidus speaks as follows:

<i>Balātu ša ūme ruġûti</i>	<i>Life for long days</i>
<i>ana širiġti šurġâm</i>	<i>give as a gift to me</i>
<i>u ša Belšaruġur</i>	<i>and cause to dwell</i>
<i>mâru rêštû</i>	<i>in the heart of Belshazzar</i>
<i>ġît libbiya</i>	<i>my first born son,</i>
<i>puluġti ilûtika rabîti</i>	<i>the offspring of my body,</i>
<i>libbuš šuškinma</i>	<i>reverence for thy great God-</i>
<i>â iršâ</i>	<i>head. May he ne'er incline</i>
<i>xiġêti</i>	<i>to sin,</i>
<i>lale balātu lišbi.</i>	<i>may he be filled with the</i>
	<i>fulness of life.</i>

In the second column of the great inscription of Ur,<sup>12</sup> the king, after describing the restoration of the temple of *Ebarra*

<sup>9</sup> Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Athenæum*. March, 1854, p. 341, 'A letter from Bagdad.' See also Oppert, ZDMG, viii. 598.

<sup>10</sup> The name occurs in the inscriptions as that of probably two other persons: (a) In 'Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,' ii. 60, l. 59, where the ruler of the city of the *Kišeši*, one of the tribes conquered by Sargon, is called *Belšaruġur*. (b) The *Belšaruġur* son of *Balātu* mentioned by Pinches in the *New York Independent*, 1889, Aug. 15, is probably not, as he thinks, the son of Nabonidus but of some ordinary person, possibly of some one named after the king's son (?). For the proper name *Balātu*, see Peiser 'Babylonische Verträge,' No. ix. l. 2. (*Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, vii. 66, l. 2.)

<sup>11</sup> Text, IR. 68, col. ii. 22-23, and Winckler's 'Keilschrifttexte,' p. 43. Translation, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xix. (1861), 195 ff.; repeated also, 'Records of the Past,' v. 143 ff., Talbot: Oppert, 'Expédition en Mésopotamie,' i. 262.

<sup>12</sup> 'Keilinschriftliche Bibl.' iii. pt. 2, p. 82. *Belšaruġur mâru rêštû . . . ġît (?) libbiya šûriku ūmešu, â iršâ xiġêti*, 'Belshazzar my first born . . . the offspring of my body, make long his days, may he not incline to sin.' Peiser transcribes in the 'Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek' . . . *lu (?) ux bi a = ġît (?) libbiya*.

and offering a devout petition to Šamas, the sun-god, that the sacred shrines may now remain uninjured, closes with a prayer for his own well being and with a supplication for *Belšaruḫur* his first-born in almost the same words as the above. Why this especial mention of the king's son occurs in these inscriptions of Ur is doubtful. It may be conjectured with Tiele ('Geschichte,' 463) that *Belšaruḫur* was governor of this province in Southern Babylonia and had Ur as his capital, or it is possible that Nabonidus attached some special religious importance to the cult of the moon-god local in this place. The petition here that the king's son might not incline to sin may perhaps indicate that the prince had in some way offended the prejudices of the religious classes, who, as is well known, supervised the preparation of the inscriptions. From the allusion to the prince in the annals<sup>13</sup> of Nabonidus it appears that the son of the king was a number of years with the lords and army in Akkad, most probably in the capacity of commander in chief, while his father was residing in Tema free from the cares of government. It is worthy of notice here that in the annals the name *Belšaruḫur* does not occur, the allusion being merely to the 'son of the king'; but there can be little doubt that the reference is to the first-born.

In addition to these three passages from the historical literature, there are numbers of references to *Belšaruḫur* in the contract tablets, none of which, however, throw any further important historical light on his character.\*

As *Belšaruḫur* is the only king's son mentioned with such prominence in the Babylonian inscriptions,<sup>14</sup> and as it is espe-

<sup>13</sup> Annals, col. ii. 5, during the seventh year of Nabonidus, col. 2. 10, during the 10th year. See also col. ii. 19 and 23.

<sup>14</sup> Compare, however, Nbpl. col. ii. 69, 'Keilinschriftl. Bibl.' iii. pt. 2, 4, mention of Nebuchadnezzar; and col. iii. 6ff. of *Nabušulišir*, his brother. In later documents mention is made of Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, as co-regent and king of Babylon during his father's lifetime. (See Tiele 'Geschichte,' 483, 484.) In the inscription of Antiochus Soter, VR. 66, 25, ('Keilinschr. Bibl.', iii. pt. 2, 138, 25), mention is made of Seleucus, his son and vice-king. Delattre, 'Solomon, Asurbanipal et Baltasar,' 1883, p. 5, compares in connection with *Belšaruḫur* the cases of Solomon and Sardanapalus, both of whom exercised the vice-regal dignity during the life of their respective fathers.

\* See additional note C.

cially stated that the lords of the kingdom and army were with him (probably under his supervision) in Akkad, it seems highly probable that he was a very important personage in the government, a theory which is strengthened by the fact that his father, Nabonidus, was more of an archæologist than a ruler, and far more interested in the discovery of a forgotten site than in the affairs of his kingdom. *Belšaruçur*, therefore, as some critics have argued,<sup>15</sup> may have really been co-regent; but, as will be seen subsequently, the author of the Book of Daniel could not, as they thought, have had this idea in mind in calling him king of Babylon.

Comparing the *Belšaruçur* of the inscriptions with Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, the following important differences are apparent. The former was the son of the last king of Babylon, but never reigned except possibly as co-regent, while the latter is distinctly called the last king and the son of Nebuchadnezzar. There can be little doubt that both of these statements were made by the author of Daniel in perfect good faith. A number of commentators<sup>16</sup> have sought to prove that the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel was not necessarily meant by the author as the last king of Babylon, but was intended for Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar; a view advanced in support of the statement in verse 2, that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Following this theory, some considered Belshazzar merely a secondary name. (So Zündel 'Daniel,' 26; Niebuhr 'Geschichte,' 30, etc.) It is difficult to understand, however,

<sup>15</sup> Floigl, 'Cyrus und Herodot,' 24; Andreä, 'Beweis des Glaubens,' 1888, p. 249; Smith in the 'Dictionary of the Bible'; Meinhold, 'Dissertation,' 30, n. 2, etc.

<sup>16</sup> So Marsham, 'Canon chron.,' 596 ff.; Conring, 'Advers. Chron.' c. 13; Harenberg, 'Dan.' ii. pp. 454 ff.; Hofmann, 'Die siebenzig Jahre des Jeremia und die siebenzig Jahrwochen des Daniel,' p. 44; Hävernick, 'Neue kritische Untersuchungen,' pp. 72 ff.; M. v. Niebuhr, 'Geschichte Assurs und Babels,' p. 42.; Wolff in the 'Studien und Kritiken,' 1858, p. 684 note a.; Zündel, 'Daniel,' 33; Unger, 'Kyaxares und Astyages,' pp. 28, 29. Keil, 'Dan.' 145, although knowing of the discovery of the name in the inscriptions thought that the *Belšaruçur*, son of Nabonidus, of the inscriptions must have been named after Belshazzar-Evilmerodach son of Nebuchadnezzar! Quatremere in his 'Annales de la philosophie chrétienne,' 1838, (Migne, 'Dic. de la Bible,' ii. p. 30, note, 1845), advanced the theory in support of Jeremiah xxvii. 7, that Nabonidus, as an usurper, associated with himself Belshazzar,

how the author could make Daniel declare to the Babylonian monarch that *his* kingdom was about to pass to the Medes and Persians, unless the prophecy were intended for the last king. There would be little point in such a warning, if it were given a generation before its actual fulfillment. We may compare in this connection the indifference of Hezekiah to the prophecy of Isaiah of the ultimate deportation to Babylon and degradation there of all the Jewish royal family. In Isaiah xxxix. 8, Hezekiah said: "Good is the word of the Lord, which thou hast spoken . . . for there shall be peace and truth in *my* days." In addition to this it is evident that if the author of Daniel did not really regard his Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon, but as Evilmerodach, he must have omitted without mention a period of twenty years between the death of the latter and the foreign supremacy; *i. e.* that between the two contiguous and closely related statements of the death of Belshazzar and the accession of Darius the Median, the reigns of several kings were passed over in silence. That an author should do this knowingly without a word of explanation, as some writers have sought to show, seems a preposterous supposition.<sup>17</sup> It appears perfectly clear that the Biblical author regarded Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon before the coming of the Medes and Persians.

son of Evilmerodach and grandson of Nébuchadnezzar, in order to strengthen his position. The view that Belshazzar and Nabonidus were identical was held by Josephus (*Antt.*, x. 11, 2), where he states that 'Baltasar' was called 'Naboandelus' by the Babylonians. (Cf. also 'Contra Apionem,' i. c. 20). This idea was followed by J. D. Michaelis 'Daniel,' 46; Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' 344; Bleek, Kirms, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, 'Daniel,' p. 172; Ewald 'Gesch.', v. 85, note; Herzfeld, 'Gesch.', i. 154; Browne, 'Ordo Saeculorum,' 178.

Sulpitius Severus, 'Hist.', ii. 6, considered Belshazzar a younger brother of Evilmerodach, both being sons of Nebuchadnezzar.

Scaliger (see 'Isagogicorum chronologiæ canonum libri tres.', iii. p. 190,) and Calvisius, who were followed by Ebrard, 'Comm. zur Offenbarung Johannis,' 45, and Delitzsch 'Real Encycl.', iii.<sup>2</sup> 472, identified him with Laborosoarchod (*Labašimarduk*), son of Neriglissar.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Zündel and Kranichfeld 'Dan.', 25, 28, who believed that Belshazzar was Evilmerodach, and explained this silence regarding the intervening period and the connection of two statements so far apart, by supposing that they were brought together because the latter was the sequence of the former!

As remarked above, certain critics have held the view that because *Belšaruṣur* may have been co-regent with his father, the Biblical writer, knowing this, gave his Belshazzar the title of king. A conclusive answer to this has been given by Professor Driver, 'Introduction,' xxii., where he states that there are certain contract tablets published by Strassmaier and bearing date continuously from the reign of Nabonidus to that of Cyrus, which show that neither Belshazzar nor Darius the Mede (supposing the latter to have been historical) could have received the title of king in any capacity whatsoever. If Belshazzar really had been co-regent, however, we would not expect to find him with the unqualified title 'King of Babylon' without any further explanation. Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, was undoubtedly co-regent and bore the title King of Babylon during his father's life-time, but in the contract which dates from his first year it is expressly stated that Cyrus was still 'king of the lands.' This statement should be contrasted with Dan. viii. 1, where reference is made to the third year of 'Belshazzar, King of Babylon,' without any mention of another over-ruler. Had the author of Daniel really believed that Belshazzar was co-regent it is reasonable to suppose that he would in some way have qualified the title 'King of Babylon.'

Furthermore the statement that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar shows conclusively that the historical knowledge of the author of Daniel was considerably at fault. Certain commentators have endeavored to prove that this statement may be in accordance with the facts, *i. e.* that 'son' here is to be translated 'descendant' or 'grandson.' It is of course perfectly true, as Dr. Pusey has remarked, that אב and בן (Aramaic בר) are used, not only of the actual father and son, but also of the grandfather or grandson, and ancestor or descendant in general.<sup>18</sup> The way, however, in which Nebuchadnezzar is referred to in the fifth chapter shows plainly that the author could have had no knowledge of the intervening kings, but considered

<sup>18</sup> Compare Pusey, 'Daniel,' p. 346. There is no distinctive word either in Hebrew or Aramaean for grandfather or grandson. In later Hebrew, Buxtorf gives זקן, 'grandfather,' fem. זקנה.

Nebuchadnezzar as the actual father of Belshazzar. In the *first* place, the narrative of chapter v. follows directly on the chapters concerning Nebuchadnezzar and begins with the unqualified assertion that Belshazzar was the son of that monarch; and *secondly*, the remark of Belshazzar in v. 13, 'so thou art Daniel . . . whom the king my father brought from Judæa,' would be ambiguous if the king were referring to his grandfather or an ancestor. In this case we would expect the repetition of the name Nebuchadnezzar to indicate to which 'father' the king was alluding. But even if the words 'father' and 'son' of the fifth chapter really were used for 'grandson' and 'grandfather,' there is no proof that *Belšaruḡur* was in any way related to Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>19</sup> Nabonidus, his father, was the son of a nobleman, *Nabubalatsuiqbi* (see 'Keilinschr. Bibl.' iii. *pt.* 2. 96, *l.* 6), and was probably a leader in the conspiracy against his predecessor, *Labāši-Marduk*. As far as is known, he was not related to any of the preceding kings. Had Nabonidus been descended from Nebuchadnezzar he could hardly have failed to boast of such a connection with the greatest Babylonian monarch, yet in none of his inscriptions does he trace his descent beyond his father. Some scholars have tried to obviate the difficulty by supposing that Nabonidus, in order to strengthen his dynasty, married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and that in this way *Belšaruḡur* was the great king's grandson, a theory which in the absence of records cannot possibly be proved.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Auberlen, 'Daniel,' p. 16, thought that Belshazzar was called son of Nebuchadnezzar, just as Omri was considered by the Assyrians as father of the house of Israel. 'Father,' however, cannot be used of the unrelated predecessors, as Pusey (Daniel, 347) sought to show. Wherever it is used in this connection, as in the above cited case, it is an error as to the real relationship. The passage in Sargon which Pusey cites in support of his view, believing that Sargon was no relation to the preceding kings, is very doubtful, and probably does not contain the words *šarru abiya*, 'the king, my father.' Cf. Winckler's 'Sargon,' ii., xiii., but also Tiele 'Gesch.', 254, 255, *rem.* 2.

<sup>20</sup> Note that Bertholdt, 'Daniel' 344, Bleek, Kirms, Hävernicks, 'Untersuch.' 72, Hitzig, 'Dan.', 73, Schrader 'Jahrbuch für Prot. Theologie,' vii. 629, are all agreed that the author considered Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

The similarity of name and the facts, *first*, that the historical *Belšaruçur* of the inscriptions was the son of the last king of Babylon, while the Belshazzar of Daniel is represented as being himself the last king, and, *secondly*, that it has been established quite lately, as will be seen below, that *Belšaruçur*, son of Nabonidus, probably met his death at the time of the capture of Babylon, in partial agreement with the Biblical account concerning Belshazzar, prove beyond reasonable doubt that the son of Nabonidus is the original of the king in the Biblical account.<sup>21</sup>

The first historical inaccuracy of the fifth chapter is, therefore, the erroneous statement concerning the name and ancestry of the last king of Babylon. It should be remembered that the value of the Book of Daniel, which nowhere pretends to be an accurate account, but is rather a political pamphlet written with a certain object in view, is by no means impaired by this inexact treatment of history. The force of the story would have been materially weakened had the author known and made use of the names of the kings intervening between Nebuchadnezzar and the last king. The whole point of the fifth chapter, as brought out in the mysterious sentence, is a comparison between the great Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the Babylonian monarchy; the insignificant last king who had allowed the reins of government to slip from his feeble hands; and the coming stranger people who should divide between them the empire of Nebuchadnezzar.

The *second* inaccuracy of the author in the fifth chapter of Daniel which should be noticed at this point, is his introduction of the queen-mother, *i. e.* the mother of Nabonidus, into the story. According to verse 10 the queen entered the hall and suggested that the Jewish prophet Daniel be called to

<sup>21</sup> Talbot. 'Records of the Past,' v. 143, doubts the identity of the Biblical Belshazzar with the *Belšaruçur* of the inscriptions, supposing that the account in Daniel is told of some other person with this name, which he asserts to be a common one. As the name *Belšaruçur* occurs only twice in the published inscriptions of another than the son of Nabonidus (see above note 10 to this chapter), until the hypothetical 'other person' be discovered it is certainly consistent with good judgment in view of the reasons just given to regard *Belšaruçur* son of Nabonidus and the Belshazzar of Daniel as identical.



interpret the mysterious writing. There can be little doubt that the author was referring to the queen-dowager, the mother of the last king of Babylon. The mother of Nabonidus, however, died in the ninth year of his reign (see *Annals*, col. ii. 13), just eight years before the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus, so that her presence at a feast held towards the close of the reign of Nabonidus would be clearly impossible. It might be argued that the reference in ch. v. may be to the wife of Nabonidus, the mother of *Belšaruḫur*, but, as we have seen, there is little doubt that the author of Daniel regarded Belshazzar (*Belšaruḫur*) as actually king and knew nothing of Nabonidus; so it seems only possible to assert that he considered the queen alluded to in this verse as the mother of the reigning monarch.

The *third* and last historical inaccuracy of the fifth chapter of Daniel is the assertion in verse 31 that a Median King Darius "received the kingdom" after the end of the native Babylonian dynasty. It is well known that Babylon was captured by Cyrus the Persian, who, some time previously, had obtained possession of Media and its King Astyages. It is evident too, from Daniel i. 21; x. 1, that the Biblical writer was perfectly aware of the existence of Cyrus. From his introduction of a Median Darius directly after the fall of Belshazzar; it must be concluded that the author of the Book of Daniel believed in the existence of a Median king between the Babylonian and Persian dynasties.

The fact that in no other scriptural passage<sup>22</sup> is mention made of any Median ruler between the last king of Babylon and Cyrus, and the absolute silence of the most authoritative ancient authors regarding such a king, have cast serious doubt on the accuracy of the Book of Daniel in this particular. Various attempts have been made, however, to vindicate the historical character of this Darius the Median.<sup>23</sup> The opinion

<sup>22</sup> See Isaiah, xliv. ff. Compare also the legend of Bel and the Dragon, verse 1, and the Greek translations (LXX and Theodotion) of Dan. xi. 1, where the name Cyrus is substituted for that of Darius.

<sup>23</sup> Note in this connection Josephus, *Antt.* x. 11, 4, followed by Jerome on Daniel v. 1; vi. 1, (Opp. ed. Vallarsi, tom. v. 651, 657). Josephus stated that Babylon was captured by Darius, who was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks. The following

has been very generally advanced that he was identical with Cyaxares, son of Astyages, mentioned in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*,<sup>24</sup> and in support of this theory reference has been made to the lines of Æschylus, *Persæ*, 762-765. (So Hitzig, 77; Keil, 165.)

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ

"Ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε ·

Φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν οἰακοστροφούν.

Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ, κ. τ. λ.

writers attempted to prove the historical character of Darius the Mede; Delitzsch, 'Real Encyclopädie,' iii. *ed.* 1, article 'Daniel,' Prideaux, 'History of the Jews,' i. 98, 154, 172, etc.; Hävernicks, 'Daniel,' 205; Hengstenberg, 'Daniel,' 48, 327; Kranichfeld, 'Daniel,' 44; Lengerke, 'Dan.,' 232; Lenormant, 'Magie,' 535; J. D. Michaelis, 'Dan.,' 52; Vaihinger, 'Real-Encycl.,' s. v. Darius; Venema, 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' ii. *pp.* 309ff.; Zündel, 'Dan.,' 37. Compare also Jahn 'Biblical Archaeology,' transl. Upham, *ed.* 5, p. 289; Browne, 'Ordo Sæclorum,' p. 175; Schulz, 'Cyrus der Grosse,' Stud. und Krit. 1853. p. 685; Zöckler, 'Daniel,' 34. With regard to other less important opinions as to Darius the Median, some authorities considered him identical with Astyages. Among the holders of this opinion is Syncellus, 'Chronogr,' p. 232, where he said Ναβόννηδος ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Μήδων, 'Ἀστυάγης παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖος 'Ἀσσηνῆρου. Cf. also Marsham, Niebuhr, etc., and more lately Unger, 'Kyaxares und Astyages,' *pp.* 26-28. Others sought to show that Darius the Median was a near relative of Astyages. Compare Quatremere, 'Mémoires sur Darius le Mede et Baltasar,' 380-381, who considered him Astyages' nephew. Ibn Ezra (Hitzig, 'Daniel,' 76), (see IE on Dan. vi. 1) thought that he was the father-in-law of Cyrus. Klein, Schulz, *op. cit.*, 684, and Zündel regarded him as a younger brother of Astyages. Ebrard Scheuchzer, Scaliger, in Appendix of his 'De emend. temporum' and in 'Isagogicorum chronologiæ canonum libri tres.' iii. *pp.* 291 and 315, Petavius, and Buddeus, (see Zöckler, 34) thought him identical with Nabonidus. Conring, 'Advers. Chron.,' c. 13, Bouhier 'Dissertation sur Herodote,' 29, Harenberg, ii. *pp.* 434ff., regarded him as identical with Neriglissar. Hengstenberg, 'Daniel,' 328, identified him with Bahman, who according to Persian tradition (Mirchond) dethroned Belshazzar and appointed Cyrus; but cf. v. Lengerke, 'Daniel,' 224ff. etc., etc.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.*, i. 5, 2. Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν 'Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ Κναξάρης ὁ τοῦ 'Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τῶν Μήδων.

For the opinion that Darius the Mede was identical with Cyaxares, see, for example, Hävernicks, 'Dan.,' 206; Keil, 'Dan.,' 165; Kranichfeld, 'Dan.,' 44; Lengerke, 'Dan.,' 220; Andreä, 'Beweis d. Glaubens,' xxv. 57, Meinhold 'Dissertation,' 33ff., and others mentioned above.

The *πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ* was supposed to refer to Astyages, while the "son" of the following line was understood to be the Cyaxares mentioned in the *Cyropaedia*. As a further proof of identity, the age of the Darius of Daniel, sixty-two years, has been cited as a point of agreement with the account that Cyaxares, having no hope of a male heir, being too old, gave Cyrus his daughter and made him his successor.<sup>25</sup> It may be well in this connection to compare the data of Xenophon regarding the last Median kings with those of Herodotus on the same subject. It should be noticed, *first*, that Herodotus ends the Median dynasty with Astyages, while Xenophon adds a son, Cyaxares. *Secondly*, according to Herodotus Cyrus was only related to the Median house by being the son of Astyages' daughter. Xenophon adds to this that Cyrus married the daughter of Cyaxares (his first cousin), and inherited with her the Median empire. *Thirdly*, according to the account of Herodotus, Cyrus took part in the rebellion instigated by Harpagus and conquered his grandfather Astyages, capturing Media. Herodotus' account of the conquest of Babylon contains no reference to any Median prince. Xenophon relates, however, that Cyrus, after quarreling with Cyaxares, became reconciled to him and gave him royal honors after the Babylonian campaign. Herodotus, as will be seen from the above, had no knowledge of any Median king between Astyages and Cyrus, nor of any special Median occupation of Babylon, and in this respect his account is substantiated by the cuneiform records. It should be noticed that neither Berossus nor any other ancient author knows of a Median rule after the fall of Babylon.<sup>26</sup> In the annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder, the two cuneiform documents relating to the fall of

<sup>25</sup> See *Cyrop.*, viii. 5, 19 and *cf.* Hävernicks, 'Dan.', 206. Some commentators who identified Xenophon's Cyaxares with the Median Darius, explained the silence of Herodotus and other writers regarding Cyaxares by supposing that the latter reigned too short a time to have given his name to history; but this does not of course explain the silence of Xenophon himself in the *Anabasis* about the fabulous Cyaxares.

<sup>26</sup> For the account of Berossus see below, ch. 3, p. 46. Compare in this connection Ktesias, *Pers.*, ii. 5; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 24, *etc.*

Babylon, no mention whatever occurs of any ruler of Media between Astyages and Cyrus (cf. *Annals* ii. 1-4 and note), nor of any king of Babylon intervening between Nabonidus and Cyrus. On the contrary it is stated that Cyrus became master of Media by conquering Astyages, and that the troops of the King of Persia, capturing Babylon, took Nabonidus prisoner. Cyrus himself entered the city nine months later.

In view of these facts it is difficult to see where an intermediate reign can be inserted, either in Media, directly after Astyages, or in Babylonia after Nabonidus. It should be mentioned, moreover, that the Cyaxares of the *Cyropaedia* is not recorded to have ruled in Babylon, but merely to have received royal quarters in that city. (*Cyrop.*, viii. 5, 17.) An identification between Darius the Median and the Cyaxares, son of Astyages, of Xenophon's romance, is, therefore, open to the serious objection that the existence of this latter person, contrary to all other accounts, is extremely doubtful. It should be remembered that the narrative of the *Cyropaedia* resembles the Book of Daniel in that it was not written for an historical but for a moral purpose. It is enough to quote Cicero, who remarked (*Ad Quintum fratrem*, Lib. i. 1, 8), "Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justī imperii." It is perhaps a little harsh to characterize Xenophon's work, with Niebuhr as an 'elenden und läppischen Roman.' ('Vorträge über alte Geschichte,' i. 116.) With respect to the peaceful succession of Cyrus to the Median Empire, Xenophon, in his more historical work, the *Anabasis*, iii. 4, expressly stated that the Medes succumbed to the victorious arms of Cyrus. The *Cyropaedia*, therefore, representing the peaceful passage of the empire of the East from Astyages to Cyaxares his son, and from the latter to Cyrus, can only be giving some fanciful embellishment.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Some commentators in a mistaken effort to confirm the Biblical record have deliberately confounded the names of Darius, Cyaxares, and Xerxes. Thus, Hävernicks, 'Dan.', 210; 'Untersuchungen,' 78, and Zöckler, 'Daniel,' 34, thought that Astyages was identical with Ahasuerus; and Keil, 'Dan.', 167, thought that Darius and Cyaxares were related in meaning. Hengstenberg, 'Daniel,' 51, and Niebuhr, 'Kleine Schriften,' 207, believed in the identity of the names Cyaxares, Astyages,

It is probable that this Cyaxares of the Cyropaedia arose from a confusion of facts. The father of Astyages was the famous Cyaxares, and Xenophon, by a confusion of history, must have believed, when writing his romance, that Astyages preceded Cyaxares, and that the latter was the last king of his dynasty (compare Delattre, 'Medes,' p. 170). Even had this fabulous second Cyaxares existed, however, an identification between him and Darius the Median, would be impossible, owing to the difference of the names of their respective fathers. The latter is called in chapter ix. 1, the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) a name which could never be considered the same as Astyages.

The attempt to identify the Darius of Daniel with the King Darius mentioned in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius<sup>28</sup> can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. According to this passage it is stated that after Cyrus gave the last king of Babylon the province of Carmania, Darius drove out some one from that region; probably Nabonidus.

There is every reason to believe that this Darius is no other than Darius Hystaspis. (Even Pusey, 'Daniel,' 159, had to admit that this was possible; compare also Kranichfeld, 'Daniel,' 45, v. Lengerke, 'Daniel,' 228.) It is possible that Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, whom Cyrus dethroned in 538 B. C., and according to the record of Berossus (see below, note 3 to chapter third) sent to Carmania, may have remained in that province until the time of Darius Hystaspis. The Persian king, perhaps enraged by some attempt of Nabonidus to rebel, may have expelled him from his province as the account of Megasthenes seems to state. The idea can hardly be entertained that there is an allusion here to an earlier Darius.

and Ahasuerus. In his 'Gesch. Assurs und Babels,' p. 45, Niebuhr confused the name Astyages, which he considered as a title of honor, with Cyaxares and Darius. Von Lengerke, 'Daniel,' 237, thought that Cyaxares and Ahasuerus were identical. Zündel, 'Daniel,' 36, Kranichfeld, 'Dan.', 46, Pusey, 'Dan.', 159, and Andreä, 58, saw no difficulty in the difference in name! Unger, 'Kyaxares and Astyages,' 29, thought like Niebuhr that Darius was a throne name, a sort of title, etc.

<sup>28</sup> See Armenian Chronicle, Ed. Schoene, i. 41 (Latin translation), quoting from the account of Abydenus from Megasthenes.

The argument based on the authority of Suidas and Harpocration,<sup>29</sup> that the coin *darik*, was called, not after Darius Hystaspis, as many have supposed, but after an older monarch of this name, probably the Median Darius of Daniel,<sup>30</sup> is also in view of modern researches extremely doubtful.

The name of the coin, *δαρεικός* (Hebrew אֲדָרְכֹן) has been derived from the name Darius,<sup>31</sup> but it is extremely probable that there is no connection linguistically between the two. Putting aside all other difficulties, the form *δαρεικός*, if considered an adjectival development from *Δαρείος*, has no analogy. As Georg Hoffmann has pointed out, *Zeitschrift für Assyriol.*, ii. 53, forms like *κεραμεικός*, *Εὐβοεικός* come from *κεραμέυς*, *Εὐβοεύς*, etc., and not from an original *-εῖος*. The *κ* in *δαρεικός* he believes, therefore, is not of Greek origin.<sup>32</sup> The derivation, however, which Hoffmann suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 56) from 'Dar-ik' = داري, from Dar, gate; i. e. the royal gate, has been retracted, *Phœnician Inscriptions*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 8. (Note that Hitzig, 'Daniel,' p. 77, derived the name from the Sanscrit *darçana*, *darçamana*—mirror, appearance and Lengerke, 'Dan.', 229, from داب or دال — 'lord, king,' i. e. the royal coin *par excellence*.)

Bertin, *Proceedings Society for Biblical Archaeology*, Feb. 5, 1884, p. 87, mentioned that a contract of the twelfth year of Nabonidus contains the word *dariku* which he believed might be the original of the name of the coin. This *dariku*,

<sup>29</sup> Suidas said, *Δαρείοι . . . οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιότερου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν*. See Hultsch, 'Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae,' vol. i. p. 335, 21 ff. Compare also Harpocration, *sub. v.*, Schol. ad Aristoph., 1 ff., *Eccl.*, 602, who remarked *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρείοι οὐχ, ὥς οἱ πλείους νομίζουσιν, ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου . . . βασιλέως*. See Hultsch, 'Metrol.' vol. 1, p. 311, l. 2-5; pp. 315, l. 17; p. 348, l. 20.

<sup>30</sup> See Cook's 'Bible Commentary,' vi., 314 Andreä, *op. cit.*, 49. Hengstenberg, 'Daniel,' 51, Hävernicks, 'Untersuchungen,' 78, etc., etc.

<sup>31</sup> See above note 29 on Harpocration, and compare Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' 353, de Lagarde, 'Abhandlungen,' 242, quoted by Hoffmann, *ZA.* ii. 50, who regarded *δαρεικός* like *Δαριήκης* as a by-form of Darius.

<sup>32</sup> For the extreme improbability of the derivation of this word from the name Darius, see his entire article, *Ztschr. für Assyriol.*, ii. 49-56. As early as Hävernicks, 'Unters.' 78, n. 3, 1838, the difficulty of such a supposition was felt.

however, seems to be the name of some agricultural product. (So Tallqvist, 'Sprache der Contracte Nabunaid's,' p. 66. For the word cf. Nbk. 432. 7, Strassmaier, 'Babylonische Texte'; *darika*, Nbk. 347. 10; *idrika*?-571 — also 'Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichnis,' No. 1919.) It appears hardly possible, therefore, to connect it with the later *δαρεικός*. While the true derivation of the name of the coin has probably not yet been discovered, its connection with the name Darius appears no longer possible. The assertions of Suidas and Harpocration, therefore, that the coin was not named from Darius Hystaspis, but from some older monarch must thus fall to the ground, and with it the hope of an identification of Darius the Median with an older king of this name.

If there is no room in history for this Median king of the Book of Daniel, and it appears consequently that such a ruler could not have existed, but that Media passed from Astyages, and Babylon from Nabonidus, to Cyrus, how is it possible to account for this interpolation of a Median rule in the Book of Daniel?

The author evidently believed that Babylonia passed into Median hands before it reached Cyrus. The theory is not tenable that Darius the Median was a Median prince to whom Cyrus had given Babylon as a reward for his services. (So Vignolles, 'Oeuvres,' ii. 510 sq. followed by Lenormant, 'Manual of the Ancient History of the East,' p. 490). Nor can we suppose him to have been a sort of satrap or vice-king. (So Andreä, *op. cit.* 55; Pusey, 'Daniel,' 160.) The author of Daniel represents Darius with full kingly powers. Darius divides the empire into one hundred and twenty satrapies (ch. vi. 1); he signs a royal decree making it unalterable law (ch. vi. 7, 8); he issues a proclamation to all peoples, nations and languages that dwell in the earth (ch. vi. 25); and the author dates according to his reign and refers nowhere to any overlord (ch. ix. 1).

The question may be divided into two heads: *First*, Why does the author of Daniel believe that the Medes held Babylon before the Persians? *Second*, Why does he call his Median king by the familiar name of Darius?

A. In order to answer the first question it seems necessary to give a very brief outline of the Median history. Accord-

ing to the record of Herodotus the Median kingdom was founded by Deiokès. If the chronology of the Greek historian is at all correct, Deiokès must have founded his kingdom, as Tiele has pointed out ('Geschichte,' p. 408), during the reign of Sennacherib in Assyria (705-681 B. C.). (For an historical examination of the foundation of Media see Delattre, 'Medes,' p. 129 ff.)

This whole question, however, is very uncertain and has little bearing on what follows. The son of Deiokès was Phraortes, who is really the first historical king of Media. (According to Herodotus he must have reigned from 646 until 625 B. C.) Following the account of Herodotus, not content with ruling over the Medes alone, Phraortes marched against and subjugated the Persians. Then, at the head of the combined forces of Persians and Medes, he set out to conquer Asia, passing from one people to the other. Finally he attacked the Assyrians, at that time isolated by the defection of their allies, and not only suffered defeat but was killed during the expedition, having ruled twenty-two years. His reign coincides with the last twenty-two years of that of Ašurbanipal. As Tiele remarks ('Geschichte,' 408), it is certainly striking that this latter king never followed the example of his predecessors in attacking Media. The probable reason was that the power of Phraortes was too great to admit of such an attempt. If we accept the chronology of Herodotus, the year of Phraortes' attack on Nineveh, 625 B. C., coincides with the time of the death of Ašurbanipal and the defection of Babylon from the Assyrian rule. In spite of her difficult position, however, Assyria seemed still to have possessed sufficient power to cast off the Medes for a time. Phraortes was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, who completed his father's work; and under this monarch the Median power reached the summit of its greatness. According to the account of Herodotus (i. 73, 74), Cyaxares carefully reorganizing the Median army; dividing the spearmen, archers, and cavalry into separate troops, marched with his entire force against Nineveh, intending, in vengeance for the defeat and death of his father, completely to destroy the city. His first siege, owing to the Scythian irruption into his kingdom, he was forced to raise, but finally, shaking off the



barbarians, he besieged Nineveh anew and at length made an end of the Assyrian power.

According to the account of Berossus, which may be trustworthy, the Babylonian king, whose son Nebuchadnezzar was married to the daughter of the Median chief, helped the Medes in this siege. (See Tiele, 'Gesch.', 410.) It should be noticed here that Berossus and the authors dependent on him did not know of Cyaxares, but believed that Nineveh was conquered by Astyages. According to the account of Abydenus, however, the king of Babylon *Busalossor* (Nabopolassar), having married his son Nabukodrossoros to the daughter of the Median chief *Ašdahak*, proceeded *alone* against Nineveh.<sup>33</sup>

About the details of the fall of Nineveh there is no record either in Herodotus or in the cuneiform inscriptions, the last Assyrian kings of whom we have any document being *Ašur-etil-ilāni-ukinnī* and *Sin-šar-iškun*. (See Bezold 'Literatur,' 122). Herodotus, i. 107, merely mentioned the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, giving no detailed account, while in the Assyrian inscriptions there is absolutely no reference to the event. Equally silent are the documents of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and first independent king of Babylon, in which, in view of the statement of Berossus, just mentioned, we might expect to find some allusion to the overthrow of Assyria.

Winckler's opinion, based on the silence of Herodotus *l. c.* regarding the participation of the Babylonians in the siege of Nineveh, was that the Medes captured the Assyrian capital alone. This view has been rightly objected to by Lehmann, 'Samašsumukin,' ii. 185. An 'argumentum ex silentio' is at best poor reasoning. Moreover, Tiele has pointed out that the continuation of the Babylonian power would have been impossible had Nabopolassar remained neutral in the war between Media and Assyria (see *Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, vii. p. 19).

<sup>33</sup> *Ašdahak* is the Armenian form of Astyages, see note to Annals, ii. 2. For this and fuller ancient opinions regarding the part of the Babylonians in the fall of Nineveh we may compare Delattre, 'Les Chaldéens jusqu'à la formation de l'Empire de Nabochodonossor,' and Tiele, 'Geschichte,' 414 and 421.

The account of Berossus then, regarding the Babylonian and Median alliance against Assyria seems to commend itself to good judgment.

At any rate the chief facts are certainly clear: Nineveh was destroyed,—so thoroughly that Xenophon, when crossing Asia in 401 B. C. with the ten thousand, mistook the ruins of the great city for those of Median towns laid waste by the Persians. (See *Anabasis*, iii. 4; iv. 12, and compare in this connection Zephaniah ii. 13–15.) It seems generally recognized, and the opinion of almost all antiquity (the untrustworthy records of Abydenus excepted), that the Medes played the chief part in the ruin of Assyria, and in this historical fact I believe lies the key to the solution of the problem of Darius the Median.

The interpolation by the author of Daniel of a Median rule in Babylon directly after the fall of the Babylonian house may possibly depend on a confusion between the story of the fall of Nineveh and the account of the overthrow of Babylon. Nineveh fell at the hands of the Medes. Some authors might differ as to the name of the Median prince who destroyed it, but it seems to have been generally recognized by the ancients that the Medes captured and overthrew the city. Babylon was conquered by Cyrus the Persian, who had but a few years previously subdued these same Medes to his standard. What more natural than that an author writing at a much later period and having no historical, but rather a moral object in view, should confuse the accounts of the fall of the two great cities of the ancient world? The author of Daniel, probably influenced by the story of the fall of Nineveh, as a more vivid fulfillment of the prophecy of the mysterious writing, makes a Median ruler receive Babylon after the overthrow of the native dynasty, and then mentions later the historical Cyrus. We may suppose that the Biblical writer believed that Cyrus succeeded to the empire of Babylon on the death of the Median Darius.

B. The second question, however, still remains unanswered. Why did the author of the Book of Daniel give to his fictitious Median king the familiar name of Darius?

As early as the eleventh century of our era the view was advanced by the Benedictine monk, Marianus Scotus

(quoted Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' 844), that Darius the Median was Darius Hystaspis, and, on examining certain points in the account of Daniel, it will appear that this is probably the correct solution of the difficulty. In chapter ix. 1, Darius the Median is said to be the son of Xerxes (Ahasuerus), and it is stated that he established one hundred and twenty satrapies; Darius Hystaspis was the father of Xerxes and according to Herodotus, iii. 89, established *twenty* satrapies. Darius the Median entered into possession of Babylon after the death of Belshazzar; Darius Hystaspis conquered Babylon from the hands of the rebels. (So Herodotus iii. 153-160.) It seems clear from this comparison, and in view of the impossibility of reconciling with history the existence of a Median ruler of Babylon, that the name Darius in Daniel is due to a confusion with that of the son of Hystaspis.<sup>34</sup>

Just as Xenophon made Cyaxares the son of Astyages, so the writer of Daniel must have made his Darius the son of Xerxes, and, in addition to this, transferred in a distorted form certain facts of the reign of Darius Hystaspis to the reign of Darius the Mede. (The idea as stated by Friedrich Delitzsch, in the 'Calwer Bibellexicon,' 137, 138, that the original of Darius the Median may have been Cyrus' general *Ugbaru* (Gobryas), who captured Babylon, seems very unsatisfactory).

Darius the Mede appears therefore to have been the product of a mixture of traditions; on the one hand, the story of the capture and destruction of Nineveh by the Medes, sixty-eight years before the fall of Babylon, may have contributed to the historical confusion of the author's mind and influenced him to insert a Median rule in Babylon before the Persians; while on the other hand the fame of the great Darius Hystaspis and of his capture of Babylon from the rebels may have led to the choice of the name 'Darius' for the Median interloper, and induced the Biblical writer to ascribe in a vague way certain events of the life of the former to the reign of the latter.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Compare Beers, 'Richtige Vereinigung der Regierungsjahre,' p. 22, Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' p. iv., Lengerke, 'Dan.' 230, and lately Kamphausen, 'Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung,' p. 29.

<sup>35</sup> A similar confusion of persons is seen in the well known Greek legend concerning the fiery death of Sardanapalus (*Ašurbanipal*). Prof.

It seems apparent therefore that the interpolation of Darius the Median must be regarded as the third and perhaps the most glaring inaccuracy of the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel.

To recapitulate briefly: the assertion that Belshazzar was the last king of Babylon, the introduction of the Queen Dowager at a feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon, and the interpolation of a Median king Darius between the native Babylonian and Persian dynasties are all contrary to history.

Haupt in his corrections and additions to the Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, ii. pp. 282, *rem.* 4, advanced the explanation that this account arose from a confusion in later tradition between Sardanapalus and his half-brother Šamašsumukīn, who having rebelled in Babylon against his brother, perished in the flames when the city was captured by the victorious Assyrian king. This theory however is not adopted by Lehmann, 'Šamašsumukīn,' p. 2, who is inclined to believe that the legend may have had an historical basis in the fact that Nineveh was destroyed by fire, at the time of its capture by the Medes. (?)

## CHAPTER THIRD.

### THE REAL VALUE OF THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL.

It may well be asked, however, if these inaccuracies treated of in the last chapter necessarily show that the account of the fifth chapter of Daniel, regarding the miraculous appearance of a warning writing during a feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon, is invented, and if it is not possible that there may be here an echo of history which can still be detected. This question may certainly be answered in the affirmative.

We have already seen that it is possible to explain both the true meaning of the mysterious sentence, and why the phrase might have been unintelligible to the hierogrammatists. We may ask, furthermore, whether it is absolutely necessary to consider the portent a miracle and whether it is not possible that the inscription was produced by human means.

Two theories have been advanced as to a possible non-miraculous production of the writing: some scholars have held that it might have been made by loyal servants of the king; others have regarded it as the work of conspirators.

The former supposition which was advanced, for instance, by Bertholdt,<sup>1</sup> does not seem tenable, as loyal servants would hardly have used such a disrespectful sentence with which to warn their master. It must be remembered, of course, that the symbolical meaning of the phrase was not known when this suggestion was offered.

The second theory, that it might have been produced by conspirators against the royal house, has more inherent probability.<sup>2</sup> Judging from the historical accounts of the period, a powerful conspiracy must have been concerned in the overthrow of the Babylonian power. It may be well, therefore, in this connection, before entering on the discussion concerning

<sup>1</sup> Bertholdt, Daniel, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> In justice to Bertholdt it should be remarked that he mentioned this supposition also as a possible conjecture.

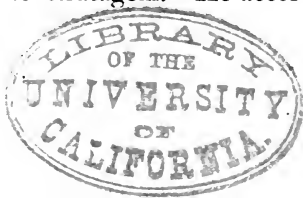
the character and value of the Biblical account, to state briefly the history of the fall of Babylon, comparing the most important versions.

Previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions relating to this event, comparatively little could be known accurately. The chief sources upon which historians were forced to depend were the account of Berossus, which Eusebius and Josephus took from Alexander Polyhistor, and the narrative of Herodotus, i. 188 ff. The statement of Berossus in Josephus, 'Contra Apionem,' i. 20, is as follows: 'Nabuchodonosor . . . fell sick and departed this life when he had reigned forty-three years, whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissar, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissar, the person who had plotted against him, succeeded to the kingdom and reigned four years. His son, Laborosoarchod, though but a child, obtained the kingdom and kept it nine months, but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices which he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him by his friends and he was tortured to

<sup>3</sup> Ναβουχοδονόσορος . . . ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετελλάξατο τὸν βίον, βασιλευκῶς ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐιλμαράδονχος. Οὗτος προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ Νηριγλισσοόρου ἀνῆρέθη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δύο. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλισσοόρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα. Τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρχοδος ἐκυρίευσεν μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆρας ἑννέα, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμpanίσθη. Ἀπολομένον δὲ τοῦτον συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέβηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὄντι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως . . . Οὗσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει προεξέληλυθὸς Κύρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμειος πολλῆς καὶ καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμειος καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν. Κύρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἐξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀνέκρουσεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον ἐκπολιορκήσας τὸν Ναβόννηδον. Τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἄλλ', ἐγχειρίσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κύρος φιλανθρώπως καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

death. After his death the conspirators got together and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon and one who belonged to that insurrection. . . . But when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and having already conquered the rest of Asia, came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonnedus perceived that he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle was defeated and fled away with a few of his troops and shut himself up within the city of Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon and gave order that the outer wall of the city be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome, and cost him a great deal of pains to take. He then marched to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus. As Nabonnedus, however, did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself up beforehand, he was kindly used by Cyrus who gave him Carmania as a place to dwell in, sending him out of Babylon. Nabonnedus accordingly spent the rest of his life in that country and there died.' (For this last statement concerning the banishment of Nabonnedus to Carmania, cf. also Euseb., 'Evang. Præp.' ix. 40, 41, and 'Chron. Armen.' i. 10, the account of Abydenus.)

Herodotus, i. 188 ff. relates that the King of Babylon, Labynetus, the son of the great queen Nitocris, was attacked by Cyrus. The Persian king, on his march to Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, a tributary of the Tigris. While the Persians were trying to cross this stream, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entered the water and, being swept away by the rapidity of the current, was lost. Cyrus, exasperated by the accident, suspended his operations against Babylon and wasted the entire summer in satisfying his resentment by draining the river dry. On the approach of the following spring, however, he marched against Babylon. The Babylonians, as he advanced, met and gave him battle, but were defeated and driven back into the city. The inhabitants of Babylon had previously guarded against a siege by collecting provisions and other necessities sufficient for many years' support, so that Cyrus was compelled to resort to stratagem. He accord-



ingly<sup>4</sup> 'placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city and another where it leaves it, directing them to go into the channel and attack the town wherever the passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground . . . and pierced the bank, introducing the river into the lake (the lake made by Nitocris some distance from Babylon, see Herodotus, i. 185), by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object in view. The Persians in their station watched the better opportunity and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs they entered Babylon without difficulty.' The account goes on to say that, as the Babylonians were engaged in a festival, they were completely surprised by the sudden attack and unable to defend the city which thus fell an easy prey to the invaders.

The two cuneiform documents relating to the fall of Babylon which have shed a wonderful light on this period of the world's history are the Cyrus Cylinder and the Annals of Nabonidus, both of which are translated and explained in APPENDIX I. The former was discovered in 1879 by the workmen of Hormuzd Rassam in the ruins of Qaṣr at Babylon, a hill which, according to the opinion of Rassam, covers the remains of a great palace, i. e. that of Nebuchadnezzar. The tablet called the 'Annals of Nabonidus' was obtained by the British Museum in 1879 from Spartoli and Co. The place where it was found is unknown, although Mr. Pinches declares decidedly that the document came from Babylon. It seems to belong to a series of annalistic tablets which were collected and preserved by the Achaemenian kings. (See further, APPENDIX I.) The Cyrus Cylinder is a highly laudatory account of Cyrus's

<sup>4</sup> Τάξας τὴν στρατὸν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλλει καὶ ὀπισθε αὐτῆς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ρέεθρον ἰδῶνται γενόμενον ἐσιέναι ταυτῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Οὕτῳ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπῆλυνε αὐτοὺς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. . . . τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυνχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ρέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε . . . οἱ Πέρσαι οἵπερ ἐτετάχατο 'ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῖτ' κατὰ τὸ ρέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφράτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὥς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κη κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.



glorious entrance into Babylon, evidently written by some scribe under the Persian rule, while the so-called Annals is a concise historical summary of the events of the reign of Nabonidus until the accession of Cyrus, a paragraph being devoted to the events of each year.

Before passing on to the history of the advance of the Persians on Babylonia the following facts should be noticed. After Cyrus, king of the unimportant state of *Anšan*,<sup>5</sup> according to the record of the Annals, had gotten possession of Media, the Persian prince finding himself transformed from the ruler of an insignificant province to the leader of a great kingdom, turned his eyes westward. Here Nabonidus the king of Babylon, who had at first regarded the defeat of his old enemies the Medes<sup>6</sup> as a direct intervention of the gods, now becoming alarmed at the sudden rise of this new power concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Lydia and Egypt, a league which should certainly have been sufficient to check the advance of the Persian forces. Lydia was compelled, however, by the swift movements of the enemy to defend herself without waiting for her allies. Cyrus, after totally routing the Lydian army at Pteria,<sup>7</sup> proceeded directly against Sardis, the capital, which he captured without difficulty and there established his permanent headquarters in the northwest. The Persian king did not hasten at once against Babylonia, his second powerful rival, but, after settling affairs in Lydia and ap-

<sup>5</sup> For the chronology of Cyrus' reign, his ancestry and kingdom, see Appendix I, note to Cyrus Cyl., l. 21 and to Annals, col. 2, l. 15.

<sup>6</sup> The Medes during the reign of Nabonidus had attacked and destroyed the city of Harran and the temple of Sin. Cf. VR. 64. 12.

<sup>7</sup> See Herodotus, i. 76. Note that Justin, Hist., i. 7, makes Cyrus begin the war with Babylon before that with Lydia, interrupting his conflict however, in order to conquer Croesus who had offered aid to Babylon. Sulpicius, Hist., ii. 10, passed directly from the Median conquest to that of Babylonia.—Croesus, king of Lydia, whom Cyrus captured, was according to Herodotus, i. 75, the brother-in-law of Astyages. Cyrus treated him kindly and gave him the city of Barene near Ecbatana as a residence, according to Ctesias, with five thousand riders and ten thousand bowmen as retinue.

pointing governors<sup>8</sup> over all the conquered provinces, returned to Ecbatana.

The following historical account of the approach of Cyrus on Babylonia and the fall of that empire may be gathered from the Annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder.

The record of the Annals, which must have been very complete, is unhappily so mutilated that comparatively little can be learned about the early period of the invasion. We may conjecture from a very broken passage (*col. ii. l. 21-22*) that the Persians may have made an invasion from Elam against Erech in the tenth year of Nabonidus (see note to passage, APPENDIX I), but this is by no means certain. Where the text treating of the actual conquest of Babylon is legible, the matter seems practically to be decided. It is stated that Nabonidus entered the Temple of *Eturkalama* (Annals, iii. 6), most probably to seek help from the gods. We may then conjecture,—the translation is very doubtful,—that a rebellion against his authority took place on the lower sea. The god Bel was apparently brought out with a solemn religious festival (*col. iii. 8. 9. 10*), and, as a last resource, numerous deities were brought to Babylon as a protection to that city. This, says the chronicler of the 'Cyrus Cylinder,' so infuriated Marduk, the god of the city of Babylon, that he decided to deliver up Nabonidus to Cyrus (see Cyl. 10<sup>ff.</sup> and 33, 34). In the month Tammuz (539 B. C.) Cyrus offered battle at Opis and apparently also on a canal (?) Salsallat, which evidently resulted in his favor. (See note to Annals, *col. iii. l. 12*, APPENDIX I.) The Babylonians, defeated on all sides and disgusted with their feeble king, surrendered Sippar to the Persians on the 14th of Tammuz (539-538 B. C.; see Annals iii. 14). As this city was the key to the whole sluice region it was important for Cyrus to get possession of it before he could besiege Babylon successfully. By breaking the dams at Sippar in case of need, the water could be cut off from all the plain. As we have seen, according to the account of Herodotus just

<sup>8</sup> See Herodotus, i. 153. The post of governor of Sardis was one of the most important positions in the Persian Empire. This official seems to have held the precedence over the neighboring satraps. Compare Nöldeke, Aufsätze zur altpersischen Geschichte, p. 21.

given above, Babylon was said to have been captured by the device of drawing off the water of the Euphrates (cf. also Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, vii. 5, 15), but the short space of time intervening between the capture of Sippar and Babylon seems to show that no such device was resorted to. Two days after the capture of Sippar (16th of Tammuz), the gates of the capital itself were opened to Gobryas,<sup>9</sup> the governor of Gutium and commander of a section of the Persian army, who formally took possession of the city in Cyrus's name. (See *Annals*, iii. 15, and *Cyl.*, l. 17, 'without strife and battle he let him enter into Babylon.')

Nabonidus, who had fled to Babylon after the capture of Sippar, was taken prisoner and held to await the coming of Cyrus. Here again, owing to a doubtful text, we are reduced to conjecture. The Babylonian party seem to have wished to use the temples as storehouses for arms(?), for the troops of Gobryas surrounded them and guarded them carefully. (For other opinions as to the meaning of this passage see note to *col.* iii., l. 17, *Annals*, APPENDIX I.)

Four months later, on the third of Marchēšvan, Cyrus himself entered the city of Babylon and decreed peace to all, appointing his general Gobryas governor of the city and sending back to their own shrines the gods which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon. (See *Annals*, iii. 21. and *Cyl.* 33-34.) The Persian monarch was received with great rejoicings by the nobles, priests and people, who hastened to declare their allegiance (*Cyl.* 18). He then assumed formally the title of king of Babylon and of Sumer and Akkad (*Cyl.* 20), receiving

<sup>9</sup> In the record of the cylinder no mention is made of Gobryas; it is simply stated that Cyrus and his army entered the city without battle. See *Cyl.*, 16, 17. The *Annals*, however, give more details of the conquest and, moreover, are a strictly impartial account. It is much more flattering to Cyrus to attribute to him, as in the Cylinder, all the glory of the capture and not mention any of his generals. It is interesting to notice that Xen., *Cyrop.*, vii. 5, 24 ff., has also preserved the account of the capture of the city by Gobryas, making him, however, a great Assyrian leader, who, desiring vengeance of the king of Babylon for the murder of his only son, allied himself with Cyrus. According to Xenophon, Babylon was taken by the two generals, Gobryas and Gadates.

the homage of the tributary kings of the westland.<sup>10</sup> (Cyl. 28.) It is probable, in accordance with the account of Berossus, given above, that Cyrus dismantled to some extent the fortifications of Babylon soon after its capture. That he cannot utterly have destroyed the defences is evident from the fact that the city stood repeated sieges during subsequent revolts; one under Cyrus, two under Darius Hystaspis, and one under Xerxes.<sup>11</sup> Judging from the assertion of Jerome (Comm. on Isaiah iii. 23; ed. Vallarsi, IV. 180), that the walls had been repaired and renewed as an enclosure for a park, they were probably at no time completely destroyed.

The causes which led to the fall of the Babylonian dynasty and to the transferring of the empire to the Persians are not difficult to determine.

*Nabupaluṣur*, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, was the first independent king of Babylon after the overthrow of Assyria. After an uneventful reign of twenty-one years he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the empire of Babylon. He was not only a great warrior the terror of whose arms was felt as far as Egypt, and who, by his conquests made Babylon the political centre of a mighty empire, but also a lover of art and architecture, who prized his reputation as the restorer of the capital far more than his military fame. (For the glories of his reign see Tiele, 'Geschichte,' 441-454.) As remarked above, Nebuchadnezzar was the greatest name in Babylonian history, the culminating point of Babylonian glory. After his time the kings were weak, incapable characters, judging from the account of Berossus, not even able to protect their own crowns. The last King, Nabonidus, though better than his immediate predecessors, was the creature of a conspir-

<sup>10</sup> Gaza alone in the land of the Philistines seems to have refused tribute and offered resistance; see the citation to Valesius Polyb., xvi. 40, quoted by Nöldeke, Aufsätze, 23. n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> See G. Rawlinson, Herodotus, 425, n. 5. For the second revolt of Babylon, see Herod., iii. 153-160, the story of Zopyrus. A curious work regarding Zopyrus is that of Joh. Christoph. De Zopyro Babylonios fallente, 1685.

acy against his youthful predecessor *Labaši-Marduk*.<sup>12</sup> Nabonidus was probably not of royal blood, as it is stated in the record of Berossus that he was a man of Babylon, and he calls himself in his inscriptions, the son of a noble.

It will appear, therefore, that the seeds of decay were ripening fast, as early as the beginning of the reign of this king, who, had he been a different character, might have delayed the final catastrophe at least beyond his own lifetime. But Nabonidus, as is evident from the tone of the records of his reign, was by nature a peaceful prince, whose taste lay not in government or conquest but in archæology and religious architecture. His inscriptions are one long list of temples repaired<sup>13</sup> and pious duties performed. Under his feeble sway the vast and heterogeneous empire, lacking the strong hand of a conquering ruler to punish defection and protect his subjects from foreign attacks,<sup>14</sup> naturally began to fall to pieces, until finally the

<sup>12</sup> Compare the account of Berossus given above and the record of Abydenus quoting Megasthenes as saying that 'Labassoracus' being destroyed, they made *Ναβοννίδουχος βασιλέα προσήκοντα οἱ οὐδέν*—king having no claim to this rank; see Euseb. Praep., Evang., ix. 40, 41; Euseb., Chron. Armen. i. c. 10.

The succession of Babylonian Kings given by Berossus is quite correct and agrees not only with the Ptolemæan Canon but with the cuneiform inscriptions. The list of kings with their approximate dates is as follows:—

Nabû-pal-uçur, 625-605 B.C.

Nabû-kudurri-uçur, 604-562 B.C.

Amil-Marduk, 561-560 B.C.

Nergal-šar-uçur, 559-556 B.C.

Labaši-Marduk between the 14th of Âru, 556, and the 12th of Dûzu, 555.

Nabû-nâ'id, 554-538 B.C.

The Ptolemæan canon omits Labaši-Marduk son of Nergal-šar-uçur, probably owing to his short reign of but nine months. Only those kings are recorded who governed for longer than one year; see Floigl, 'Cyrus und Herodot.' p. 70. According to Abydenus, Labaši-Marduk was a boy not older than twelve years. See Floigl, *op. cit.* 25, and compare in this connection, Tiele, *Gesch.* 424, n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Hagen in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 237, note, gives a complete list of the temples repaired by Nabonidus.

<sup>14</sup> The king seems to have been unable either to prevent the attack of the Medes on Harran or to punish them for their destruction of the city. (See above note 6 to this chapter). He was equally powerless to resist the expedition of Amasis of Egypt against Cyprus by which several cities were captured. (See Tiele, *Gesch.* 468).

Babylonian name in Western Asia, became more a shadow than a reality.

Toward the close of his reign Nabonidus showed himself even more incapable than in his earlier years, for while devoting especial attention to the repairing and maintenance of the temples, he entirely neglected the defences of the capital, choosing to live in Tema<sup>15</sup> rather than in Babylon, and evidently leaving all military matters to his son, who, as shown above, was probably in command of the army. Practically no steps seem to have been taken either to prevent the advance of the Persians or to meet them when they came, so that when Cyrus arrived he probably found a people discontented with their king and ready to exchange his rule for a firmer sway. The fact that both Sippar and Babylon were taken by the Persian forces 'without battle' certainly seems to show that there existed a powerful faction in Babylonia in league with the invaders.

It is possible that the priests of Marduk in the city of Babylon were especially instrumental in bringing about the final blow. We have already noticed that the priesthood was probably hostile to *Belšaruçur* the crown-prince. It can easily be imagined how, disgusted with the king's neglect of the regular offerings and finally infuriated with his infringement on the jurisdiction of their god in introducing strange deities into Babylon, they would naturally have cast their influence in favor of a change of rule.<sup>16</sup> It must be remembered that the priests exercised the most powerful influence in Babylonian affairs, being even stronger than the royal house. The inscriptions of every sort point to the supremacy and importance of the reli-

<sup>15</sup> For Tema see note col. ii., l. 5, Annals, Appendix I.

<sup>16</sup> Nabonidus was certainly not a reactionary heretic who tried to introduce a Sin cult; (so Floigl, *Cyrus und Her.*, p. 2), first, because the king did not confine his attention to Sin (cf. the list of the temples repaired, Hagen, *Beitr.* ii. 237 note,) and secondly, as Tiele has pointed out (*Geschichte*, 460), it was the priests of Marduk who inspired him to repair the temples and to give attention to the cults of other deities. Compare V R. 64, 16, where Marduk reveals his will in this connection to Nabonidus in a dream. The insult to Marduk which turned the scale against the king was his criminal slothfulness about protecting Babylon and his introduction of other gods into Marduk's own city.

gious classes, one of the most constant themes of these documents being the frequent allusion to buildings of temples, temple gifts, restoration of offerings, etc. This prominence of the priestly classes is to be explained by the fact that they were the custodians of all knowledge. The arts of writing, astronomy, and magic were their peculiar provinces. It will readily be understood, therefore, that their favor or disfavor would turn the scale in an attempt against the reigning dynasty. In addition to this it may be supposed that the large Jewish element, which had been transplanted to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar and which could not be expected to feel especially well disposed toward the Babylonian dynasty, probably played a considerable part in the final conspiracy. Their reasons for so doing were of course not identical with those of the rebellious Babylonians. It may be supposed that the native Babylonians, glad at any price to be rid of their incompetent ruler, were forced to make the best of a foreign supremacy, while the religious element among the captive Jews, to whom permission to return to Palestine may have been promised beforehand,<sup>17</sup> certainly regarded Cyrus as the Anointed of Jehovah, who would carry out His will in every respect and utterly destroy Babylon and its Gods, a hope which Cyrus was wise enough not to realize. Bearing in mind, therefore, these facts it seems by no means unnatural to assume that such a warning as that described in Dan. v. might have been caused by the agency of conspirators, and that a basis of historical truth may underlie the account. The tone of the fifth chapter, however, seems to show beyond doubt that the Biblical writer considered the portent as a miracle sent from God, to warn the impious king of his impending punishment. The Maccabean author of Daniel accordingly makes use of the account against Antiochus Epiphanes.

That a festival, as mentioned in the Book of Daniel, actually took place on the eve of the capture of Babylon is not at all

<sup>17</sup> Compare the enthusiastic prophecies regarding the destruction of Babylon and the references to Cyrus the shepherd of God, Isaiah, xiii. xiv. xlv. 28, xlv.; Ps. 137.; Jer. 1-li. Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to their old home in the first year of his reign—537 B.C. See Ezra, i. The prophecies of the destruction of Babylon were certainly not carried out, the only one fulfilled to the letter being that regarding the return of the Jews.

improbable.<sup>18</sup> Although we have no parallel account of such an event in the inscriptions,<sup>19</sup> it certainly seems rather significant that both Herodotus and Xenophon allude to a feast at this time. As we have seen, according to Herodotus i. 191, Babylon was captured while the besieged were off their guard during a festival. Xenophon also, alluding to the capture of Babylon, says that Cyrus had heard that a feast was going on. (Cyrop. vii. 5, 15.) Of course the allusion in Jeremiah li. 39, referred to in Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. 424, is merely general and cannot be understood as referring to a final festival.

It is now demonstrated by the cuneiform inscriptions that at least the *name* Belshazzar,<sup>20</sup> not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, is based on correct tradition, notwithstanding the errors into which the author fell regarding the *person* of the last king. Although undoubtedly wrong in considering Belshazzar the last king of Babylon, the writer of Daniel may have been influenced in this particular by tradition. *Belšaruṣur* was the son of the last king, and was probably in command of the army and actively concerned in the conflict with the invading Persians. We cannot doubt that he was a person of great political prominence in the empire, and it is even possible that he

<sup>18</sup> It may not be uninteresting to note, that Hävernicks, Dan. 176, following Vorstius, Exercit. Acad. 4 identified this final feast of the Book of Daniel with the *Σακία* which, according to Athenæus (Deipnosoph. xiv. 639) corresponded to the Saturnalia.

<sup>19</sup> In the Annals of Nabonidus, iii. 8, mention is made of a religious festival (the New Year's feast) which took place probably about twelve months before the capture of the city. This. Andreä, 'Beweis des Glaubens,' '88, p. 257, etc., believed to be the festival of the Book of Daniel; a highly improbable theory.

<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that the Babylonian proper names in Daniel seem to be for the most part genuine, although of course it cannot be supposed that the author understood their meaning. In fact we know from his explanation of the name Belteshazzar that this was not the case. See note *b* to verse 12, Appendix II. Compare in this connection the names Arioch, Belteshazzar, and Abednego which are traceable to a Babylonian origin, and see further Friedr. Delitzsch in the Preface to Baer and Delitzsch, Text of Ezra, Neh. and Daniel. It is instructive to observe here the difference between the genuine names in Daniel and the spurious character of those in the book of Judith, showing the superiority of the tradition followed by the author of Daniel.



may have been possessed of more influence than his father. If this were the case, a legend making the crown-prince the real king is easily to be explained.

The author of Daniel seems to be approximately correct concerning the death of Belshazzar. The Biblical Belshazzar was slain on the eve of the capture of the city by the Persians, and it is extremely likely from a new reading of a mutilated passage in the Annals of Nabonidus (iii., l. 23), that *Belšaruçur* the king's son met his death soon after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus's forces. If the reading which I have adopted of this passage of the Annals be correct, it is probable that after the capture of Babylon, Belshazzar with a remnant of the royal forces made a last despairing resistance which was crushed by Cyrus's general Gobryas, and that the patriot prince thus met his death at the hands of the invader.<sup>21</sup> The Annals go on to say that a solemn mourning was then instituted, probably by order of Cyrus himself.

Of course nothing certain about this event can be known until a duplicate text be discovered which shall supply the missing words of the mutilated passage. If the interpretation here given is correct, the agreement of both Herodotus and Xenophon, as well as of the book of Daniel, that the last king of Babylon was slain at the time of the capture of the city, may be a perversion of this account of the death of the king's son. It is interesting to note here that the author of Isaiah xiv. 19, clearly expected the destruction of the last king of Babylon with the overthrow of the city. We may conclude, then, that in the case of the Book of Daniel, the tradition which the author followed in calling the last king Belshazzar,

<sup>21</sup> It should be noticed that both of the Babylonian rebels against Darius Hystaspis gave themselves out to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus. This certainly seems to show that at that time *Belšaruçur*, the first born son of the king, was generally known to be dead, as otherwise his name would have served as a more promising catchword for rebellion than that of a younger prince. According to Behistun, 1, 16; 3, 13; 4, 2, the names of these two rebellious chiefs were Nadin-tabel, son of Amri, who seems to have been for a short time successful in his rebellion, as there are a few contracts dating from the first year of his reign (Hommel, *Gesch.* 787, n. 1), and Arakh an Armenian son of Handikes. Nothing is known of this Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus.

may have arisen from the prominence of the son of Nabonidus during his father's reign, and perhaps especially towards its close, in the government of Babylon; and that the statement of Belshazzar's death about the time of the capture of Babylon possibly had its origin in the death of the king's son at the hands of the Persians.

The preservation of the name Belshazzar, found only here in the Old Testament, and now confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions, the approximately correct statement regarding his death, and the striking agreement just mentioned of the record of Herodotus and the Biblical account would seem to show, therefore, that the story of the appearance of the mysterious sentence may not altogether lack an historical element.

The Book of Daniel loses none of its beauty or force, because we are bound in the light of modern criticism to consider it a production of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor should conservative scholars exclaim because the historical accuracy of the work is thus destroyed. If the book be properly understood it must be admitted that the author made no pretence at exactness of detail. To assert, furthermore, with some excellent Christian divines that with the Book of Daniel the whole prophetic structure of the Old Testament rises or falls, is as illogical as the statement of Sir Isaac Newton, that he who denies Daniel's prophecies denies Christianity! If we consider that these 'prophecies' were never intended to be more than an historical résumé, clothed for the sake of greater literary vividness in a prophetic garb, it is difficult to see how such a conclusion affects the authenticity of utterances of other authors which may really have been meant to be predictions of the future. If viewed in the proper light, the work of the writer of Daniel can certainly not be called a forgery, but, as mentioned before, merely a moral and political pamphlet. It should certainly be possible for intelligent Christians to consider the book just as powerful, viewed, according to the author's intention, as a consolation to God's people in their dire distress at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as if it were, what an ancient but mistaken tradition has made it, really an accurate account of events belonging to the close of the Babylonian period.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### ADDITIONAL NOTE A.

It was generally recognized by the ancients that the Book of Daniel was an authentic production. The references in the New Testament, (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14, referring to Dan. ix. 27 and xii. 11) ascribe the book especially to Daniel, (*cf.* also Josephus, x. 11, 7.) In *Antt.* xi. 8, 5, Josephus relates the oft-cited fable that the Prophecies of Daniel were shown to Alexander the Great on his entry into Jerusalem.

The first known writer who doubted the authenticity of the Book of Daniel was the Neo-Platonist, Porphyrius, (A.D. 304), who in his great work of fifteen books directed against the Christians (*Λόγοι κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*) devoted the whole twelfth book to an attack on Daniel, which he declared to have been originally in Greek, the work of a Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The works of Porphyrius were all collected and burnt by orders of the Emperors Constantine and Theodosius, so that his views have descended to posterity only through the works of Jerome, who attempted to refute his arguments. According to the statement of Jerome, he was also answered by Methodius, Apollinaris of Laodicea and Eusebius of Cæsarea.

According to Origen, the pagan Celsus is said to have expressed a doubt concerning the truth of the occurrences described in Daniel. The following commentators are among those who regarded the Book of Daniel, either wholly or in part, as belonging to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; Collins, "Scheme of literal Prophecy considered," London, 1726; Semler, "Untersuchungen des Canons," iii. 505; Corrodi, "Versuche über verschiedene in Theologie und Bibelkritik einschlagende Gegenstände," Berlin, 1783; 'Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons,' vol. i. Halle, 1792, pp. 75 ff.; Eichhorn; 'Einl. in das A. T.', 3 und 4 Ausgabe; Bertholdt, 'Daniel;,' also the commentaries of Kirms, 'Commentatio historico-critica,' Jena, 1828; Redepenning, 1833; von Lengerke, 1835; Ewald; Hitzig; Bunsen, 'Gott in der Geschichte,' i Teil, 1857, pp. 302, 514, 540; Lücke, 'Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis,' ii. Aufl.; Bleek, 'Einleitung'; Riehm, 'Einleitung,' ii. 292; Strack in Zöckler's 'Handbuch der Theolog. Wiss.', i. (1885), 164, 165, (see also Herzog, Real Encyclopædie,<sup>2</sup> vii. 419); Schlottmann, 'Compendium der Alttestamentlichen Theologie,' 1887 and 1889; Reuss., 'Geschichte des A. T.', 1890, pp. 592 ff.; C. A. Briggs, 'Messianic Prophecy,' 411 f.; and Driver, 'Introd.', p. 467.

Among the defenders of the authenticity of the book should be mentioned: Lüderwald, Die 6 ersten Capitel Daniels nach historischen Gründen geprüft und berichtet, 1787; Jahn, 1880; Dereser, 1810

(answering Bertholdt); Pareau, *Institutio Interpret*, v. i.; Royaards, 'Over den Geest en het belang van het Boek Daniel,' Hag. 1821; Sack; Ackermann, 1829; Hengstenberg, 1831; Hävernicks (answered by Droysen, *Geschichte der Hellenen*, vol. ii. p. 346); Zündel, 1861; Hilgenfeld, 1863; Kranichfeld, 1868; Keil; Franz Delitzsch in *Real Encyclopædie*, (first Edition) vol. iii.; Caspari; Pusey; Andreä, *Beweis des Glaubens*, '88, p. 241 ff.; Dusterwald, 'Die Weltreiche und das Gottesreich nach den Weissagungen des Propheten Daniels,' 1890, (reviewed by Siegfried, 'Theologische Literaturzeitung,' 10 Jan. 1891) etc., etc.

It should be mentioned that Franz Delitzsch, in the second edition of Herzog's 'Real Encyclopædie,' vol. vii. pp. 469-479, (1878) had greatly modified his views regarding the time when the book of Daniel originated. He was not inclined to deny the possibility of a Maccabæan origin, and even said, (p. 471) that the book, considered as an apocalyptic work of the Seleucidan period, had more claims to canonicity, than if it were a product of the Achæmenian epoch distorted from its original form by later hands.

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#### ADDITIONAL NOTE B.

##### THE UNITY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

The Book of Daniel must be regarded as a unit. Some critics, however, have believed in a separate origin for the first six chapters. Thus Sack. Herbst in his 'Einleitung in's A. T.' 2 Theil, 2 Abtheilung, pp. 104, 105, and Davidson attributed the second part of the work to Daniel, but regarded the first six chapters as an introduction to the visions written by a later Jew. Eichhorn ('Einleitung,' 3d and 4th edition,) believed that ch. ii. 4-vi. were written by one author and ch. vii.-xii. with i.-ii. 3 by another. The fact that from ch. ii. 4, through ch. vii. the book is written in Aramæan has not unnaturally influenced some scholars to believe that the Aramæan portions have a separate origin from the other parts of the work. Zöckler, for example, following some of his predecessors, such as Kranichfeld ('Daniel,' p. 4), considered the Aramæan sections as extracts from a contemporary journal in the vernacular, while Driver 'Introduction,' 482, 3, although seeing the strong objections to such a view, remarks with some caution that the theory of a separate origin for these parts deserves consideration. Meinhold, 'Dissertation,' p. 38 and 'Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel,' 32, 70, believed that the Aramæan portions were in existence from the time of Alexander. We should compare in this connection Strack (in Zöckler's 'Handbuch,' i. 165,) who inclines to this view, although admitting that the book at present forms an indivisible whole. (See also Lenormant 'Magie,' Germ. ed., 527, 565). This idea should be kept quite distinct from the more extreme theory of Lagarde, 'Mittheilungen,' iv. 351 (1891), who, commenting on the opinion of J. D. Michaelis 'Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek,' ii. (1772),

p. 141, that the Book of Daniel consisted of a number of parts of separate origin, remarked that the bilingual character of the work is an evidence that it is a 'Bündel von Flugblättern.' (See also Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1891, pp. 497-520, particularly 506-517.) This view of Lagarde's was really a repetition of that of Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' pp. 49 ff., which is now generally rejected. (See Bleek, 'Einleitung,' p. 415, Delitzsch, 'Real Encyclopädie,' vii.<sup>2</sup> 471, Reuss 'Geschichte,' 599, and lately Kamphausen, 'Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung' (1893), p. 8.)

No view that the Book of Daniel is the production of more than one author is consistent with the uniform character of the entire work.

It must be remembered that the Aramæan chapters are not altogether pure narrative. Chapter ii. for example, although narrative in form, is devoted to the interpretation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, and contains, as shown above, substantially the same prophecies as we find in the purely apocalyptic chapter vii. in the second part of the work. It will suffice to cite one other striking point of agreement between the two sections. The allusion in chapter ii. 43, to the mixing of iron and clay is clearly to be understood of the alliance mentioned in ch. xi. 6, 17 between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies. (See Kamphausen, *op. cit.*, p. 8.)

It must not be forgotten that chapter vii., the beginning of the second part, is certainly as apocalyptic in character as any of the following sections. Moreover, the natural division of the book is undoubtedly after ch. vi., so that if the difference of language were the sign of a separate origin for these sections we would expect ch. vii., the beginning of the distinctly apocalyptic portion to be in Hebrew, which, however, is not the case. The Aramæan seventh chapter belongs as completely to the following Hebrew apocalyptic parts as the Hebrew first chapter is essentially part of the following Aramæan narrative sections. (In this connection see Driver, 'Introduction,' 482.) There can be little doubt that the complete interdependence of all the chapters is such that the entire book must be regarded as the work of a single author.

Various attempts have been made to explain the sudden change of language in ii. 4. Some commentators thought that Aramæan was the vernacular of Babylonia and was consequently employed as the language of the parts relating to that country. (So Kliefoth, 1868, 'Dan.', p. 44, and Keil, 'Dan.', 14.) Such a view is of course no longer tenable, as the cuneiform inscriptions now show that the Babylonian language was in use until quite a late date. The latest connected inscription is that of Antiochus-Soter (280-260 B. C.), published VR. 66, and translated by Peiser in Schrader's 'Keilinschriftl. Bibl.', iii. 2, 136. Nöldeke's theory advanced in his *brochure* 'Die Semitischen Sprachen,' pp. 41 ff., that the Assyrian language died as a spoken idiom shortly before the fall of Nineveh seems entirely unfounded. Gutbrod refers in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriol.* vi. 27, to a brick on which was engraved in Aramæan and Greek letters a proper name of distinctly Assyrian

character : ארדנרנא — 'Αδαδναδινάχης. (He was evidently alluding to one of the bricks of Tello of which there are some examples in the museums of Paris and Berlin. As Dr. Bezold, editor of the *Zeitschrift*, remarked in a foot-note, this inscription has been treated by De Vogüé and Schrader as well as in the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.' See Schrader 'Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,' iii. 2, p. 142, n. 1.) When it is remembered that a living language exercises the greatest possible influence on the formation of proper names, this brick, which is unfortunately undated, would seem to be an evidence, as Gutbrod thinks, that Assyrian may have been spoken until Hellenic times. It is therefore of course clear that the Aramæan could certainly not have been the vernacular of Babylonia even as late as the time of the author of Daniel. As a literary language, indeed, Assyrian may well have survived as late as the second century after Christ. (See Gutbrod, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.)

With regard to the Book of Daniel, it is equally unconvincing to suppose with Merx that Aramæan, as the popular tongue of the period when the book was written, was used for the narrative parts, and Hebrew, as the more learned language, for the philosophical portions; because ch. i. which is just as much in the narrative style as the following Aramæan sections, is in Hebrew, while the distinctly apocalyptic ch. vii. is in Aramæan.

A third supposition that the bilingual character of the work points to a time when both Hebrew and Aramæan were used indifferently is certainly strange, as it is very questionable if two languages can ever be used quite indifferently. A hybrid connected work in two idioms would be a monstrosity. (For this opinion *cf.* Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' p. 15, and later Hävernicks. Franz Delitzsch, 'Real Encyclopædie,' iii. 272, and vii.<sup>2</sup> 470, followed substantially the same theory, considering the change to be due to the Aramaic answer of the Chaldees in ch. ii. 4.)

Huetius ('Demonstr. Evang.', 472, quoted by Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' p. 51), believed that the entire work was written originally in Aramæan and subsequently translated into Hebrew. In the troubled Seleucidan period, he thought that the Hebrew edition was partly destroyed and the missing portions supplied from the original Aramæan. This theory, although very ingenious, does not, however, commend itself as the most satisfactory explanation.

Bertholdt, 'Daniel,' v. 2, in commenting on Huetius' view has hit upon what seems the best solution of the problem, but unfortunately did not adopt it. He remarked, with perhaps a touch of sarcasm, that it had not yet occurred to any one to consider the Aramæan text as a translation and the Hebrew as the original. In view of the apparent unity of the entire work, which Bertholdt did not recognize, no other explanation of the bilingual character of the book seems possible. The book was probably written originally at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all in Hebrew; but for the convenience of the general reader whose language was Aramæan, a translation, possibly from the same pen as the original, was made into the Aramæan vernacular. We must

suppose, then, that certain parts of the original Hebrew manuscript being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramæan translation. This theory, which is that of Lenormant, 'Magie' (Germ. ed., p. 527), has been also adopted by Bevan, the latest commentator on our book, in his 'Daniel' (1892) pp. 27 ff. I cannot agree in this connection with Kamphausen, *op. cit.* 14, note, who rejects this hypothesis on the ground that the author of Daniel evidently fell into the error of regarding 'Chaldæan' as the language of Babylonia, and consequently deliberately wrote in it those sections applying more especially to Babylon, reserving the Hebrew for the more solemn prophetic parts. Kamphausen does not explain, however, any more than his predecessors in this opinion, why the apocalyptic Aramaic chapter vii., which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions, is in Aramæan instead of in Hebrew.

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#### ADDITIONAL NOTE C.

The most important references to *Belšaruçur* in the published contracts are the following:—

(a) Strassmaier, 'Nabonidus,' 184, where mention is made of *Nabû-ukîn-axi šipiri ša Belšaruçur mâr šarri*. 'N. the scribe of B. the son of the king.' Dated 25th Nisan, fifth year of Nabonidus. Translation 'Records of the Past,' New Series, iii. 124 ff.

(b) Boscawen, 'Babylonian and Oriental Record,' ii. 17, 18; Revillout 'Obligations en Droits Egyptiens,' p. 895. . . . Strassmaier, Congrès de Leide,' no. 80, Tablet S+ 329, 79, 11, 17, mention of the same person, and of *Nabu-çabit-qâte*, the major-domo of *Belšaruçur*, the son of the king. Dated seventh year of Nabonidus. Boscawen concludes from the mention of these especial servants of the king's son so early in his father's reign that the prince must have been born before the accession of Nabonidus, a conclusion hardly warranted by the premises, as the exact age when a king's son had his separate household is not known.

It should be remarked, however, that if *Belšaruçur* were in command of the army in the seventeenth and last year of his father's reign, the prince was probably older than seventeen. Compare also in this connection the statement recorded below, that in the first year of Nabonidus a plot of ground was sold to a servant of *Belšaruçur* for his lord.

(c) Strassmaier 'Nabonidus,' 581. Translation: 'Records of the Past,' iii. 124-125, mention of *Nabu-çabit-qâte* the steward of *Belšaruçur* the 'mâr šarri.' Dated eleventh year of Nabonidus.

(d) Strassmaier, 'Nabonidus,' 688. Translation, 'Records of the Past,' iii. 124,—allusion to same official. Dated sixth year.

(e) Strassmaier, 'Nabonidus,' 662. Translation by Zehnpfund 'Beiträge zur Assyr.', i. 527, no. 25, a list of garments. 5 *çubât eširti ana xubâ ša kurummate šarri Belšaruçur*. Dated twelfth year. This is the only allusion to the king's son known to me, where he is not especially called *mâr šarri*. The omission of the title in this case was probably because the mention of the royal steward shows who is meant.

(f) Boscawen, 'Babylonian and Oriental Record,' ii. 17, n. 1. Record of an offering made by the son of the king in *Ebarra*. Dated seventh year.

*Nabu-çâbit-qâte* (Nebo seizes the hands) was the name of the major-domo of Neriglissar (Nebuchadnezzar, 34, 2/6, 1, 5, see Strassmaier, 'Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichnis,') and of his son *Labâši-Marduk* (Neriglissar, 2, 10/6, 2. See 'Bab. and Or. Record,' ii. 44, 48). The steward of *Belšaruçur* may be the same person.

To the contracts just mentioned should be added the two references to *Belšaruçur* treated of by Pinches, *Independent*, Aug. 15, 1889 :

(a) Sale of a plot of ground by *Marduk-êriba* to *Bel-rêšûa*, servant of *Belšaruçur* son of the king. Dated 26 Ve-Adar, first year of Nabonidus.

(b) The record of a small tablet from Sippar that *Esaggila-râmat*, daughter of the king (Nabonidus), paid her tithe to Šamaš through *Belšaruçur*. Dated 5th of Ab, seventeenth (last) year of Nabonidus. This payment took place in the month before Sippar was captured by the Persians. Pinches, *op. cit.*, believing that it had already been taken by the forces of Cyrus, tries to show that the city must have been retaken by the Babylonians. Sippar was not taken by the Persians until the 14th of Tammuz of Nabonidus' 17th year.

The attempt of Boscawen, *Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archæology*, ii. 27, 28, (followed by Andreä, *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1888, 250, Cheyne, 'Encycl. Britannica.' vi. 803, *etc.*) to identify *Marduk-šaruçur*, whose fifth year he thought he had discovered on a tablet, with *Belšaruçur* is unsuccessful. The contract to which the reference was made belongs to the time of Neriglissar. See Tiele 'Geschichte,' 476, Strassmaier, 'Congrès de Leide,' n. 115, p. 586.



## APPENDIX I.

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### THE CYRUS CYLINDER AND THE ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

The Cyrus Cylinder is written on a barrel cylinder of unbaked clay, nine inches long, three and a quarter inches in end diameter and four and one-eighth inches in middle diameter. It was reported by Hormuzd Rassam in the *Victoria Institute*, Febr. 2nd, 1881, as being the official account of the capture of Babylon.

The text of the inscription was published in 1880 by Pinches on the 35th plate of the fifth volume of Sir Henry Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, and lately in Abel-Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 44 ff. The first treatment of the inscription, embracing transliteration, translation and commentary, was published by Sir H. Rawlinson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XII<sup>2</sup>, 70-97, 1880. Since that time translations have been given by Sayce, 'Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments,' pp. 172 ff.; Floigl, 'Cyrus und Herodot,' 1881, which is based on Sir Henry Rawlinson's work; E. Babelon, *Les inscriptions cunéiformes relatives à la prise de Babylone par Cyrus*. Paris, 1881; Halévy, *Mélanges*—'Cyrus et le Retour de la Captivité,' pp. 4 ff.; Tiele, 'Assyrische und Babylonische Geschichte,' p. 470 ff. a paraphrase; Hommel, *Geschichte Assyriens und Babylonien*, Eberhard Schrader, 'Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,' III, pt. 2, pp. 120-127, a transliteration and translation based on a collation from a photograph; Friedrich Delitzsch in Mürdter's *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, 1891, pp. 259 ff. a paraphrase; O. E. Hagen, 'Beiträge zur Assyriologie,' II, pp. 205 ff. 1891, transliteration, translation and commentary from an entirely new collation, and finally Sayce, *Records of the Past*, V, new series, pp. 144 ff., a new translation. A transliteration of the cuneiform text is given in Lyon's *Manual*, pp. 39-41.

The Annals of Nabonidus are engraved upon a gray fragment of unbaked clay in double columns front and back. The tablet, as we have it, is about four inches high and three and a half inches in breadth. For the exact measurements see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, 206. Notice of the inscription was given by T. G. Pinches in 1880, in the *Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 139, 176. (See also *Athenæum*, 1881, p. 215, an article by Sir Henry Rawlinson who considered it the Annals of Cyrus, and Sayce, *Academy*, March 13, 1881, XVII, 198).

The text of the document is given by Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 1889, p. 154, and again lately from a fresh collation by O. E. Hagen, 1891, *op. cit.* pp. 248 ff. whose copy differs but very slightly from that of Winckler.

The first translation of the inscription which was made by Mr. Pinches, appeared in the *Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 1882, pp. 153-169, and was accompanied by an introduction, transcription and notes. The same scholar submitted lines 1-4 of column II to a new collation, the result of which appeared in the *Proceedings of the same Society*, V, 10.

Translations and paraphrases of the document have been given by the authors mentioned above as having presented translations, etc. of the Cyrus Cylinder, the most important being that of O. E. Hagen, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, 215 ff., with full commentary.

The greater part of the following translation and commentary, which is not based on a fresh collation, was made before Dr. Hagen's excellent work appeared. As his essay depends, however, on a new and careful collation of both documents, I have had no hesitation in adopting in many passages his readings and in some cases the translations suggested by him. In every such instance due credit has been given to the source from which I drew.

## THE CYRUS CYLINDER.

### DIVIDED TRANSLITERATION.

- 1 .....[um-ma]-ni-šu
- 2 .....(ki)-ib-ra-tim
- 3 .....(-ka gal) ma-tu<sup>1</sup>-u iš-šak-na ana e-nu-tu ma-ti-šu
- 4 ši .....(ta-am)-ši-li  
u-ša-aš-ki-na ċi-ru-šu-un
- 5 ta-am-ši-li E-saggil i-te-(ni-ip-pu-uš<sup>2</sup>).....ana Ūri ù si-  
it-ta-a-tim ma-xa-za
- 6 pa-ra-aç la si-ma-a-ti-šu-nu ta<sup>3</sup>....li u-mi-ša-am-ma id-di-ni-ib-bu-  
ub ù ana (na)<sup>4</sup>-ak-ri-tim
- 7 sat-tuk-ku u-šab-ṭi-li u-ad<sup>5</sup>-di-(ma)....(iš)-tak-ka-an ki-rib ma-  
xa-za pa-la-xa Marduk šar ilâni (ša)<sup>6</sup>qi-še a-šu-uš-šu

<sup>1</sup> V R. and Winckler *Keilschrifttexte lu.* Hagen, *Beiträge* II, 208, reads *lu*.

<sup>2</sup> So Hagen, *op. cit.* 208.

<sup>3</sup> ta=ištu (?).

<sup>4</sup> So Strassmaier and Pinches, cf. Hagen *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> In V R. and Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, *la*. Hagen corrects to *ad*.

<sup>6</sup> Thus Hagen's collation.

li-mu-ut-ti âli-šu (i-te)-ni<sup>7</sup>-ip-pu-(uš) u-mi-ša-am-ma... (niše)-šu ina 8  
 ab-ša-a-ni la ta-ap-šu-ux-tim u-xal-li-iq kul-lat-si-in.  
 A-na ta-zi-im-ti-ši-na Bêl ilâni ez-zi-iš i-gu-ug-(ma)... ki-su-ur-šu- 9  
 un ilâni a-ši-ib lib-bi-šu-nu e-zi-bu ad-ma-an-šu-un  
 ina ug-ga-ti ša u-še-ri-bi a-na ki-rib Bâbîlî<sup>8</sup>. Marduk ina ši<sup>9</sup>.... 10  
 li sa-ax-ra a-na nap-xar da-ad-mi ša in-na-du-u šu-bat-su-un  
 ù niše mâtŠu-me-ri ù Akkadî ša i-mu-u ša-lam-ta-aš u-sa-ax-xi-ir 11  
 ka.....ši ir-ta-ši ta-a-ra. Kul-lat ma-ta-a-ta ka-li-ši-na i-xi-iṭ  
 ib-ri-e-šu  
 iš-te'-e-ma ma-al-ki i-ša-ru bi-bil lib-bi ša it-ta-ma-ax qa-tu-uš-šu. 12  
 mKu-ra-aš šar <sup>âl</sup>An-ša-an it-ta-bi ni-bi-it-su a-na ma-li-ku-tim  
 kul-la-ta nap-xar i-zak-ra šu-(um-šu).<sup>10</sup>  
 mâtQu-ti-i gi-mir Um-man-man-da u-ka-an-ni-ša a-na še-pi-šu niše 13  
 ṣal-mat qaqqadi ša u-ša-ak-ši-du qa-ta-a-šu  
 i-na ki-it-tim ù mi-ša-ru iš-te-ni'-e-ši-na-a-tim. Marduk bêlu rabû 14  
 ta-ru-u niše-šu ip-še-e-ti-ša dam<sup>11</sup>-qa-a-ta ù lib-ba-šu i-ša-ra xa-di-iš  
 ip-pa-li-is  
 a-na âli-šu Bâbîlî<sup>12</sup> a-la-ak-šu iq-bi u-ša-aṣ-bi-it-su-ma xar-ra-nu 15  
 Bâbîlî<sup>13</sup> ki-ma ib-ri ù tap-pi-e it-tal-la-ka i-da-a-šu.  
 Um-ma-ni-šu rap-ša-a-tim ša ki-ma me-e nâri la u-ta-ad-du-u ni-ba- 16  
 šu-un kakke-šu-nu ṣa-an-du-ma i-ša-ad-di-xa i-da-a-šu  
 ba-lu qab-li ù ta-xa-zi u-še-ri-ba-aš ki-rib Bâbîlî<sup>8</sup> âl-šu Bâbîlî<sup>12</sup> 17  
 i-ṭi-ir ina šap-ša-qi. mNabû-nâ'id šarri la pa-li-xi-šu u-ma-al-la-a  
 qa-tu-uš-šu  
 niše Bâbîlî<sup>13</sup> ka-li-šu-nu nap-xar mâtŠu-me-ri ù Akkadî ru-bi-e ù 18  
 šak-kan-nak-ka ša-pal-šu ik-mi-sa u-na-aš-ši-qu še-pu-uš-šu ix-du-u  
 a-na šarru-u-ti-šu im-mi-ru pa-nu-uš-šu-un  
 be-lu ša i-na tu-kul-ti-ša u-bal-li-ṭu mi-tu-ta-an i-na pu-ta-qu ù pa- 19  
 ki-e ig-mi-lu kul-la-ta-an ṭa-bi-iš ik-ta-ar-ra-bu-šu iš-tam-ma-ru zi-  
 ki-ir-šu.  
 A-na-ku mKu-ra-aš šar kiš-šat šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar Bâbîlî<sup>13</sup> 20  
 šar mâtŠu-me-ri ù Ak-ka-di-i šar kib-ra-a-ti ir-bi-it-tim;  
 mâr mKa-am-bu-zi-ia šarru rabû šar <sup>âl</sup>An-ša-an mâr mârî mKu- 21  
 ra-aš šarru rabû šar <sup>âl</sup>An-ša-an lip-pal-pal mŠi-iš-pi-iš šarru rabû  
 šar <sup>âl</sup>An-ša-an;  
 zeru da-ru-u ša šarru-u-tu ša Bêl ù Nabû ir-a-mu pa-la-a-šu a-na 22  
 ṭu-ub lib-bi-šu-nu ix-ši-xa (šarru)-ut-su. E-nu-ma (a-na ki-rib)  
 Bâbîlî<sup>13</sup> e-ru-bu sa-li-mi-iš

<sup>7</sup> I adopt Hagen's correction to *ni*. The *kak* of the original may have been a mistake of the scribe.

<sup>8</sup> Šu-an-na-ki.

<sup>9</sup> So V R. and Winckler. Hagen reads *ti*.

<sup>10</sup> Traces not clear.

<sup>11</sup> So Winckler. V R. has 'nin-šu.'

Ka-dingir-meš-ki.

<sup>13</sup> Tin-tir-ki.

- 23 i-na ul-qi ù ri-ša-a-tim i-na êkalli ma-al-ki ar-ma-a šu-bat be-lu-tim  
Marduk bêlu rabû lib-bi ri-it-pa-šu ša mâre Bâbîli<sup>13</sup> ù . . . an-ni-ma  
u-mi-šam a-še'-a pa-la-ax-<sup>14</sup>šu.
- 24 Um-ma-ni-ia rap-ša-a-tim i-na ki-rib Bâbîli<sup>13</sup> i-ša-ad-di-xa šu-ul-ma-  
niš. Nap-xar (Šu-me-ri) ù Akkadî zeru rabû (na-ak)-ri-tim ul u-šar-ši
- 25 ki-rib Bâbîli<sup>15</sup> ù kul-lat ma-xa-zi-šu i-na ša-li-im-tim aš-te'-e mâre  
Bâbîli<sup>13</sup> . . . ki ma-la lib-(bi) . . . ma ab-ša-a-ni la si-ma-ti-šu-nu šu-  
bat-su-nu
- 26 an-xu-ut-su-un u-pa-aš-ši-xa u-ša-ap-ți-ir sa-ar-ba-šu-nu. A-na  
ip-še-e-ti<sup>16</sup> . . . Marduk bêlu rabû-u ix-di-e-ma
- 27 a-na ia-a-ti <sup>m</sup>Ku-ra-aš šarru pa-li-ix-šu ù Ka-am-bu-zi-ia mâr qi-it  
lib-bi . . . ap . . . <sup>17</sup> um-ma-ni-ia
- 28 da-am-qi-iš ik-ru-ub-ma i-na ša-lim-tim ma-xar-ša ța-bi-iš ni-it-ta-  
['du ilûti-šu(?)]<sup>18</sup> ċir-ti.
- 29 Nap-xar šarri a-ši-ib parakke ša ka-li-iš kib-ra-a-ta iš-tu tam-tim  
e-li-tim a-di tam-tim šap-li-tim a-ši-ib . . . šarrâni mât A-xar-ri-i  
a-ši-ib kuš-ta-ri ka-li-šu-un
- 30 bi-lat-su-nu ka-bi-it-tim u-bi-lu-nim-ma ki-ir-ba Bâbîli<sup>8</sup> u-na-aš-  
ši-qu še-pu-u-a. Iš-tu . . . . . a-di Aššur ù Šušinak<sup>ki19</sup>
- 31 A-ga-ne-<sup>kt</sup> mâtEš-nu-nak <sup>al</sup>Za-am-ba-an <sup>al</sup>Me-tur-nu Dûr-ilu<sup>ki</sup> a-di  
pa-at mâtQu-ti-i ma-xa-(za ša e-bir<sup>20</sup>)-ti nârDiglat<sup>21</sup> ša iš-tu ap-na-ma  
na-du-u šu-bat-su-un
- 32 ilâni a-ši-ib lib-bi-šu-nu a-na aš-ri-šu-nu u-tir-ma u-šar-ma-a šu-bat  
dâra<sup>22</sup>-a-ta. Kul-lat niše-šu-nu u-pa-ax-xi-ra-am-ma u-te-ir da-ad-  
mi-šu-un
- 33 ù ilâni mâtŠu-me-ri ù Akkadî ša Nabû-nâ'id a-na ug-ga-tim bêl  
ilâni u-še-ri-bi a-na ki-rib Bâbîli<sup>8</sup> i-na qi-bi-ti Marduk bêlu rabû  
i-na ša-li-im-tim
- 34 i-na maš-ta-ki-šu-un u-še-ši-ib šu-ba-at ța-ub lib-bi. Kul-la-ta ilâni  
ša u-še-ri-bi a-na ki-ir-bi ma-xa-ze-šu-un
- 35 u-mi-ša-am ma-xar Bêl ù Nabû ša a-ra-ku ume-ia li-ta-mu-u lit-taš-  
ka-ru a-ma-a-ta du-un-qi-ia ù a-na Marduk bêli-ia li-iq-bu-u ša  
<sup>m</sup>Ku-ra-aš šarru pa-li-xi-ka u <sup>m</sup>Ka-am-bu-zi-ia mâri-šu
- 36 da . . . šu-nu lu-u . . . . . (mâtâtî) ka-li-ši-na šu-ub-ti ni-ix-tim u-še-  
ši-ib
- 37 . . . . .  
.....(UŠ) TUR-XU-MEŠ ù TU-KIL-XU-MEŠ.
- 38 . . . . .  
.....(ad-ma-) na-šu du-un-nu-nim aš-te'-ma

<sup>14</sup> Evidently *ax* — cf. Hagen op. cit., 210. V R. has *tu*.

<sup>15</sup> Ka-dingir-ra-ki.

<sup>16</sup> Hagen op. cit. p. 212 reads : a-na ib-še-e-ti-(ia dam-qa-tim?)

<sup>17</sup> Hagen : 'ù a-na na-ap-xar.'

<sup>18</sup> So Hagen and the most probable reading.

<sup>19</sup> See Beiträge II. 233. Suggestion of Delitzsch.

<sup>20</sup> This is the most probable restoration of the text. See Beiträge, II, p. 212.

<sup>21</sup> BAR. TIK. KAR.

<sup>22</sup> DA. ER.

.....	39
.....ù ši-pi-ir-šu	40
.....šu-un Bâbili <sup>8</sup>	41
.....ši-in	42
.....ši-na	43
.....bit	44
.....-tim	45
.....(dâra)-a-tim <sup>22</sup>	



## THE CYRUS CYLINDER.

## CONSECUTIVE transliteration.

1 .....  
 ..... ummânišu (?)  
 2 .....  
 ..... kibrâtîm  
 3 .....  
 maṭû iššakna ana ênûtu mâtišu<sup>4</sup> ši.....  
 ..... tamšîli ušaškina ċîrûšun<sup>5</sup> tamšîli Esaggil êtenippuṣ  
 ..... ana Ūri ù sittâtîm maxâza <sup>6</sup>paraç la simâtîšunu ta.....li  
 ûmišamma iddinibbub ana nakrîtim <sup>7</sup>sattukku ušabṭili u'addîma.....  
 ..... ištakkan qirib maxâze, palâxa Marduk šar ilâni sâqiše  
 ašuššu <sup>8</sup>limutti âlišu êtenippuṣ ûmišamma.....(niše)šu ina abšâni  
 la tapšuxtîm uxalliḳ kullatsîn. <sup>9</sup>Ana tazîmtîšina Bêl ilâni ezziš  
 êgug(ma).....kisuršun, ilâni ašib libbišun êzibu admânšun <sup>10</sup>ina  
 uggâti ša ušêribi ana qirib Bâbili. Marduk ina ši.....li saxra ana  
 napxar dadmi ša innadû šubatsun <sup>11</sup>ù niše mâtŠumeri ù Akkadî ša emû  
 šalamtaš usaxxir ka....ši irtâši târa.

Kullat mâtâta kâlišina ixîṭ ibrêšu <sup>12</sup>ište'ma malki išâru bibil libbi  
 ša ittamax qâtuššu. Kuraš šar <sup>13</sup>Anšan ittâbi nibîtsu, ana malikûtîm  
 kullata napxar izakra sumšu. <sup>14</sup>mâtQutî gîmir Ummânmanda ukan-  
 niša ana šêpišu, niše çalmât qaqqadi ša ušakšidu qâtâšu <sup>15</sup>ina kittim  
 ù mišaru ištêni 'ešinâtîm.

Marduk bêlu rabû tarû nišešu ipšêtiša damqâta ù libbašu išâra xadiš  
 ippalis <sup>16</sup>ana âlišu Bâbili alakšu iqbi ušaçbitsuma, xarrânu Bâbili kîma  
 îbri ù tappê ittalaka idâšu. <sup>17</sup>Ummânišu rapšâtîm ša kîma mê nâri la  
 utaddû nibâšun, kakkešunu çandûma išaddixa idâšu <sup>18</sup>balû qabli ù  
 taxazi ušêribaš qirib Bâbili, âlšu Bâbili eṭir ina šapšaḳi. Nabûnâ'id  
 šarri la pâlixîšu umalâ qâtuššu.

<sup>19</sup>Niše Bâbili kâlišunu napxar mâtŠumeri ù Akkadî, rubê ù šakkan-  
 nakka šapalsu ikmisa, unaššiqû šepuššu, ixdu ana šarrûtîšu, immiru  
 pânuššun. <sup>20</sup>Bêlu ša ina tukultiša uballiṭu mîtûtân ina putaqu ù  
 pakê igmilu kullâtân ṭâbiš iktarrabušu ištammarû zikiršu.

## THE CYRUS CYLINDER.

## TRANSLATION.

1.....his troops (?)  
 2.....regions.....<sup>3</sup>a weak one  
 was appointed to the government of his land....<sup>4</sup>a similar one  
 he caused to be over them, <sup>5</sup>like Esaggil he made.....unto Ur and  
 the rest of the cities <sup>6</sup>a command unbefitting them....daily he planned  
 in enmity <sup>7</sup>he allowed the regular offering to cease. He appointed  
 ....was done in the cities, as for the veneration for Marduk,  
 king of the gods, he destroyed its.....<sup>8</sup>evil against his city he did  
 daily.....his (people) under a yoke which gave them no rest he  
 ruined all of them. <sup>9</sup>At their laments the lord of the gods was furiously  
 wroth.....their side. The gods dwelling in the midst of  
 them left their abodes <sup>10</sup>in anger that he had caused (strange deities) to  
 enter into Babylon. Marduk in.....turned (?) to all the dwellings  
 whose abode was established <sup>11</sup>and the people of Sumer and Akkad  
 who resembled corpses\* he turned.....he granted mercy.

Through all the lands altogether he looked, he saw him, and <sup>12</sup>sought  
 the righteous prince, the favourite of his heart, whose hand he took.  
 Cyrus king of Anšan, he called by name, to the kingdom of every-  
 thing created he appointed him. <sup>13</sup>Qutû, the entire tribe of the Um-  
 mân Manda he made bow at his feet; as for the people of the dark  
 heads whom he (Marduk) caused his (Cyrus') hands to conquer, <sup>14</sup>in  
 justice and right he cared for them.

Marduk the great Lord, merciful (?) to his people, looked with pleas-  
 ure on his pious works and upright heart, <sup>15</sup>unto his city Babylon  
 he commanded him to go, he caused him to take the road to Baby-  
 lon going by his side as a friend and companion. <sup>16</sup>His extensive  
 army, the number of which like the waters of a river cannot be known,  
 with weapons girded on, proceeded beside him, <sup>17</sup>without strife and  
 battle he let him enter into Babylon, he spared his city Babylon in (its)  
 calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who revered him not, he delivered  
 into his hand. <sup>18</sup>All the people of Babylon, all Sumer and Akkad,  
 lords and governors bowed before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his  
 coming to the throne, their faces were happy. <sup>19</sup>The Lord, who by  
 his power brings the dead to life, who is universally benevolent with  
 care and protection, they blessed joyously, reverencing his name.

\* i. e. might as well be dead.

<sup>20</sup>Anáku Kuraš, šar kiššát, šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar Bâbîli šar mâtŠumeri û Akkadî šar kibrâtî erbittim <sup>21</sup>mâr Kambuziya, šarru rabû, šar <sup>22</sup>anšan, mâr mârî Kuraš, šarru rabû, šar <sup>23</sup>anšan, lippalpal šišpiš, šarru rabû, šar <sup>24</sup>anšau, zeru darû ša šarrûti ša Bêl û Nabû irâmû palâšu ana tûb libbišunu ixšixa (šarrût)su. Enuma (ana qirib) Bâbîli êrubu salîmîš, <sup>25</sup>ina ulgi û rišâtîm, ina êkalli malki armâ šubat bêlûtîm, Marduk bêlu rabû libbi ritpašu ša mâre Bâbîli û...annima ûmišam aše'a palâxšu. <sup>26</sup>Ummâniya rapšâtîm ina qirib Bâbîli išaddixa šulmâniš. Napxar (Šumeri) û Akkadî zeru rabû (nak)rîtim ul ušaršî, <sup>27</sup>qirib Bâbîli û kullat maxâzešu ina šalimtim ašte' mâre Bâbîli.... kî mâla lib(bi)...ma abšâni lâ simâtišunu šubatsunu <sup>28</sup>anxûtsunu upaššixa ušaptîr sarbašunu.

Ana epšêti....Marduk bêlu rabû ixdêma, <sup>29</sup>ana iâti Kuraš, šarru.... palixšu û Kambuziya mâr çît libbi (û ana napxar) ummâniya, <sup>30</sup>dam-qiš ikrubma, ina šalimtim maxarša tâbiš nitta' (du ilûtišu ?) çîrti.

<sup>31</sup>Napxar šarri ašib parakke, ša kâlîš kibrâta, ištu tâmtîm elîtim adî tâmtîm šaplîtim, ašib....šarrâni mât Axarî ašib kuštari kâlîšun, <sup>32</sup>bilatsunu kabittim ûbilûnimma qirba Bâbîli unaššiqû šepûa. Ištu.....adi Aššur û Sušinak, <sup>33</sup>Agane, mâtEšnunak <sup>34</sup>Zamban <sup>35</sup>Meturnu, Dûrîlu adî pât mâtQutî, maxâza (ša ebir)ti nârDiqlat ša ištu apnama nadû šubatsun, <sup>36</sup>ilâni âšib libbišunu ana ašrišun utîrma, ušarmâ šubat darâta. Kullat nišešunu upaxxiramma, utîr dadmešun, <sup>37</sup>û ilâni mâtŠumeri u Akkadî ša Nabûnâ'id ana uggaŕti bêl ilâni ušeribi ana qirib Bâbîli, ina qibîti Marduk bêlu rabû ina šalimtim <sup>38</sup>ina maštakišunu ušešib, šubat tûb libbi. Kullâta ilâni ša ušeribi ana qirbi maxâzešun <sup>39</sup>ûmišam maxar Bêl û Nabû ša arâku umêa litamû, littakarû amâta dunqiya û ana Marduk bêliya liqbû ša Kuraš šarru palixika u Kambuziya mârîšu <sup>40</sup>da.....šunu lû.....mâtâtî kâlîšina šubti nîxtim ušêšib<sup>41</sup>.....

UŠ. TUR. XU. MEŠ û TU. KIL. XU. MEŠ.

(For the broken traces of the remaining verses see the Divided Transliteration.)



<sup>20</sup>I am Cyrus, the king of hosts, the great king, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions, <sup>21</sup>son of Cambyeses, the great king, king of Anšan; grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of Anšan; great-grand-son of Teispis, the great king, king of Anšan, <sup>22</sup>of everlasting royal seed, whose government Bel and Nebo love, whose rule they desire as necessary to their happiness.

When into the city of Babylon I entered in friendship, <sup>23</sup>with joy and gladness I established my lordly dwelling in the royal palace, Marduk, the great lord, made favourable to me the generous heart of the sons of Babylon, daily I cared for his worship. <sup>24</sup>My extensive army proceeded peacefully into the midst of Babylon. All Sumer and Akkad, the noble race, I permitted to have no opposition, <sup>25</sup>the interior of Babylon and all their cities I cared for properly, the sons of Babylon.....as much as they desired.....the yoke which was not suitable for them, their dwelling place, <sup>26</sup>their disorder I remedied, I caused their troubles to cease.

At my (favourable) deeds Marduk the great lord rejoiced and <sup>27</sup>me, Cyrus, the king who reverences him and Cambyeses, the offspring of my body (and) all my troops, <sup>28</sup>he blessed graciously, while we righteously lauded his exalted divinity.(?)

<sup>29</sup>All the kings dwelling in royal halls, of all the regions from the upper to the lower sea, dwelling.....the Kings of the West-land, all those who dwell in tents, brought me <sup>30</sup>their heavy tribute and in Babylon kissed my feet. From.....as far as Aššur and Šušan, <sup>31</sup>Agane, Ešnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Durilu, as far as the border of the land of the Quti, the cities across the Tigris whose sites had been established from former times, <sup>32</sup>the gods who live within them, I returned to their places and caused them to dwell in a perpetual habitation. All of their inhabitants I collected and restored to their dwelling places, <sup>33</sup>and the gods of Sumer and Akkad whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon, at the command of Marduk the great lord, in peace <sup>34</sup>in their own shrines I made them dwell, in the habitation dear to their heart. May all the gods whom I brought into their own cities, <sup>35</sup>daily before Bel and Nebo pray for a long life for me, may they speak a gracious word for me, and unto Marduk my lord may they say, that Cyrus the King who reverences thee and Cambyeses his son<sup>36</sup>.....their.....all the lands I caused to dwell in a quiet dwelling<sup>37</sup>.....

UŠ. TUR. XU MEŠ and TU. KIL. XU. MEŠ.

## THE CYRUS CYLINDER.

## COMMENTARY.

L. 3. 'maṭû,' weak is a synonym of 'enšu'—cf. ASKT 59.21, 'maxîru maṭû' = light price, and for the verb see IV. 56.11 'mê maṣṭitiya umaṭṭû'—my drinking water supply they lessened. See also Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 93.

'enûtu'—abstract formation from the Sumerian, 'en' Lord—cf. Ašurb, 1.38.

L. 4. 'tamšîlu'—similarity, likeness—I 47. c. vi. 14—'tam-šil Xamanim.' The form 'tan-šil' with partial assimilation of the 'm' to the 'š' occurs Sarg. Cyl. 64.—For this change cf. Haupt, *Hebraica*, I. pp. 219-220, and see below note to v. 2, of Daniel v.

L. 6. 'paraç la simâtišunu'—'paraçu' can never mean 'shrine' as Jensen, *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, III. 1 p. 201—translates, asserting it to be a synonym of 'parakku.' In this Jensen appears to have followed an error of Winckler's, for which see Fried. Delitzsch, *Beiträge* II. p. 250 and remark.

L. 7. 'sattukku,' the regular offering or תָּמִיד. For the Assyrian names of sacrifices cf. Joh. Jeremias, *Beiträge* I. 279. 'sattukku' may be regarded as an intensive formation with 'a' in the first syllable. (?)

L. 9. 'tazimtu'—lament for 'tazzimtu' from נָזַם—a synonym of unnînu, 'lament' and dimtum, 'tear.' See Delitzsch, *Beiträge*, II. 251, and passages there cited. For the verb 'nazâmu' cf. Asb. Smith 120, 27—'a-zi-ma'—I lamented (var. 'az-zi-ma') and IV. 58, 20b 'unazzimû.'

'ki-su-ur-šu-un,' their border—cf. *Keilinschr. Bibliothek* III. pt. 1. 188 ll. 18-19. 'a-xu-u-ti ki-sur-ši-na'—the portioning off of their border. In V. 31. 3 e. f. we find 'ki-sur-(ri)' = 'mi-çir.' The verb 'kasâru' means 'bar off,' cf. I. 27, 34 b.

L. 10. 'ša innadû šubatsun'—not 'whose abode was cast down.' 'šubtu' or 'mûšabu nadû' means to set up or establish a dwelling. See Cyl. 31 and Jäger, *Beiträge* II. 282, and literature there cited.

L. 11. 'emû,' be like, is a synonym of 'mašâlu'—V. 47, 23. It is construed either with an adverb as here cf. 'ušême karmiš'—'I made it like a field,' *Sanh.* I. 75; 'emû tilâniš,' I. 51. n. 2. 14; emû 'maxxutiš,' 'they were as if destroyed,' III. 15. 21, c. I. (See Jensen *Kosm.* 336/7.), or with 'kîma'—or 'kî' as in the Deluge, *Nim. Epos* II. 143. 1, 203. For discussion regarding the stem עָמָה see note to v. 21 of Daniel v., Appendix II.

'šalamtaš'—cf. 'Elamtaš,' *Sanh. Konst.* 27—'axrataš,' V. 34. c. II. 48. I R., Sargon Barrel. 44, and I R. 7. F. 18, 'šalamtu,' or, with reciprocal

assimilation 'šalandu,' is the same as שְׁלַנְדָּא-שְׁלַרָּא cf. Haupt, *Ztschr. für Assyriologie* II. 266, n. 5; *Beiträge* I. 3, and *Hebraica* III. 187, for the existence of a stem, √šlm meaning to die, both in Assyrian and Samaritan.

'târa,' = mercy is used substantially as in V. 64, 15<sup>a</sup> and Creation *Fragm.* n. 18 obv. 13 (*Beiträge* II. 231)—cf. also V. 21, 54. 'târu, tîr-ânû,' forgiveness, is a synonym of 'mustaru'—V. 21, 57 (*Beiträge* I. 173) and 'kiššu' = love, I. 56. 'Ta-a-a-ra' is an intensive form like 'daiîanu' and stands for 'taiîaru,' cf. *Busspsalmen* 102.

L. 13. Qute—see below on *Annals* III. 15.

'Ummân-manda' probably means, as Jäger has lately suggested (see *Beiträge* II. 300 note), the 'great horde,' or 'army,' regarding 'manda' as a byform of 'ma'da, madda.' See the citation in Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterb.* 227, l. 20ff; III. R. 63. 38<sup>a</sup>, where we find 'ummân ma'atti' (fem. of 'ma'du') for 'ummân-manda.' Delitzsch's opinion is that 'mandu' stood for 'mântu' = 'mânu' = 'ma'ânû' (cf. מְעוֹנָה from עוֹן) and was a word meaning north. (op. cit. 226.) (See, however, in this connection Jensen, *Kosm.* 10). Halevy, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* III. 188, derived it from מַדְדָּא i. e. manda = madda.

Ummân-manda seems to have been the common name for the wild hordes of the east and north, of various races, who were probably so called owing to their great numbers. Later on, however, the name became applied to the Medes proper, as we find it, for instance, in V R. 64. 30 ff, where Astyages (Ištumegu) is called 'King of the Ummân-manda.' The reason of this was, that after the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes, the wild Asiatic hordes became subject to Median rule and thus were identified in the minds of foreigners with their conquerors. In the passage, V R. 64. 30<sup>a</sup>, there is apparently a comparison between the 'Ummân manda, great army,' of Ištumegu and the 'ummâni iğûti' of Cyrus. (See Jäger, op. cit. 300 note and compare, furthermore, in connection with the name, *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, Nov. 7, '82, 11, Muss-Arnolt, *Hebraica*, vol. VII., p. 86 ff, and Tiele, *Geschichte*, 334).

'niše ġalmat qaqqadi.'—Hagen, *Beiträge* II. 231, thinks that this can hardly be a reference to the Babylonians, as they were not yet conquered by Cyrus. We have no reason to doubt, however, that Cyrus did not have the greater part of Babylonia in his hands before he took Babylon proper. The 'people of the dark heads' here, therefore, are probably those Babylonians who had already surrendered to the Persian power, and whom Cyrus had treated with exemplary forbearance.

L. 14. 'tarû'—merciful, a derivative from 'târu'—to turn towards, be gracious to. The form 'ta-ru-u' may be for 'târû,' an adjectival formation with 'nisbe.' Hagen, *Beitr.* II. 231, compares V. 47. 17 'târânu' = 'ġillu,' but is in doubt whether 'tarânu' is from 'târu,' 'to turn toward' or from a stem 'tarû' to shield. 'târânu,' however, may be

a formation with '-anu' from 'târu,' just as 'mûtânu,' pestilence,' is a derivative of 'mâtu,' cf. also 'gârânu'—a running of tears, from 'gârâru.'

'ipšetiša damqâta'—It seems necessary to consider with Hagen the 'ša' as a byform of the masculine suffix -šu. Compare l. 19, 'tukultiša' (=šu) and l. 28, 'maxarša' (=šu) and also in this connection IV. 27. 11 b, 'etla ina bît emûtiša ušêġû', they (the evil demons) have driven the man from his conjugal chamber.'

L. 15. 'tappû'—companion and technically, partner, cf., IV. 58, 50<sup>a</sup> 'bît tappešu'—'kasap tappêšu' ASKT 66. 7. The word can hardly be connected with the stem "טַפַּ", = protect,<sup>1</sup> as Muss-Arnolt has sought to show, (Hebraica, vol. VII. p. 57.), first, because the Assyrian 'tappû' is written with the character 'tap' (see Haupt, ASKT-Schrifttafel no. 65 and ASKT, p. 66-7 ff.) which indicates a value 'ת' for the initial consonant, and secondly, because the forms 'tap-pi-u-tu' and 'tap-pê-šu,' occur, showing that the word cannot be from a stem טַפַּ. We find also the feminine form 'tappâtu'—V. 39. no. 3, l. 62. For the abstract 'tappûtu,' cf. IR. Sennacherib Prism, l. 5b—'alik tappût aki'—one who goes to protect the weak: V. 33, c. II, 5. 'tap-pu-ut Marduk.'

The stem in Assyrian is probably a derivative from the non-semitic root 'tap' = two—the partner being considered the 'second.' Compare in this connection V R. 37. 28 ff, where we find as synonyms of 'tappû,'—'šina' = twice, 'kilallân' = on both sides, and, V R. 37, l. 31, 'atxu.' The latter being a form from the same stem as 'axu' brother, with infixed 't,' cf. 'itxûtu' = howling, from √âxu—IV 9. n. 3. 39.

L. 16. 'uttaddû'—from 'idû'—to know, 3 m. pl. of the Iftaal. See IV. 15. 8<sup>a</sup>; 43, 44. and the Deluge—Haupt's Nimrod Epic, pt. II, pp. 134-139 l. 113. For the form cf. Keilinschr. und das A. T.<sup>2</sup> p. 73.

'ġandûma'—usually of harnessing beasts of burden, as Hagen, Beiträge, II. 231 correctly remarks. For a figurative usage of the verb 'ġamâdu' compare however, ASKT. 116 l. 18. 'ma'diš ana šalpûti ġamdaku'—'greatly am I yoked to sin.'

'šadâxu'—always means 'to proceed'—'march'—cf. the substantival usage 'šadâxu ša Bêlit Bâbîli' Ašurb. VIII. 18. The procession of B. of Babylon. Derivatives are 'mašdaxu'—syn. of 'sûqu'—street, II, 33. 11—see also ASKT 202. n. 20, and 'išdixu' = 'alaktu', IV 57. 15<sup>a</sup>.

L. 19. ASKT 'Ina tukulti-ša'—see l. 14.

'mitûtân'—the dead, cf. 'kullâtân,' mâtîtân,' 'kilâtân,' Delitzsch, Assy. Gr, § 80. d.

'putaqu u pake,' care and protection. See Hagen, Beiträge II, 232. 'putaqu' may be derived from a stem פּוּק = pâqu, to look, care for,

<sup>1</sup> tatapu—means really to surround, enclose, cf. II R. 23. 1. ff. C.—where we find a door called 'sanîqtum,' i. e. that which encloses or shuts in, and also 'mutetiptum' and titippu.' All of these words are given as synonyms of 'daltum.'

being, as Hagen suggests, an intensive reflexive form. 'paqû' on the other hand can only be from a stem פקא. See Flemming, Neb. 39, and Zimmern, Busspsalmen 60, n. 1, who explain it as denoting the idea of 'confident looking,' cf. Heb. פקח in the Piel, which means 'to look attentively.' Is it not possible that פוק and פקא may contain the same root? There seems to be no connection between the 'pakê' in this passage of the Cyl. and that in V R. 23, 23-27, where the word 'pakû' is cited as a synonym of various expressions denoting meekness.

The adverbial accus. 'piqâ' may be a derivative of the stem פקא, cf. Jäger, Beiträge II, 305.

L. 21. Kuraš šar Bâbili; For the legends regarding Cyrus in general and especially in connection with the account of Herodotus, compare Floigl, Cyrus und Herodot; Bauer, die Cyrussage; Schubert, Herodots Darstellung der Cyrussage, Breslau, 1890, etc., etc. For the chronology of Cyrus' reign, compare Tiele, Geschichte, p. 483, and the literature cited note 2.; also Büdinger, Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus, p. 39, 1884 and Oppert and Menant, Documents Juridiques, p. 262.

As to the commencement and duration of Cyrus' rule in Babylon the following statement may be of interest. The last contracts of the reign of Nabonidus are dated in the month Iyar (April-May) 538. B.C. The date 538 instead of the usual 539 (See Unger, Kyaxares- und Astyages p. 52, Nöldeke, Aufsätze, p. 26) is necessitated by the nine months' reign of Labaši-Marduk, unmentioned by the Ptolemæan Canon, which brings forward the date of the fall by one year. Babylon was taken on the 16th Tammuz (July 15th) 538, when Nabonidus ceased to reign. Cyrus entered the city the 3rd day of Marchešvan (October 27) evidently assuming the reins of government at once, as the first known contract of his reign is dated in the following month in his 'commencement year;' i. e. Kislev 16th (December 9th) 538. (See Tiele, Geschichte 424, Unger, op. cit. 52.) The official first year did not begin therefore until five months later; i. e. Nisân 537.

As to the exact duration of Cyrus' reign there is some confusion. Although the Ptolemæan Canon gives him nine years as King of Babylon, a contract exists, dated in his *tenth* year, giving him the title 'King of Babylon and of the Lands.' (See Tiele, Geschichte 483, citing Strassmaier.) It is possible either that this may be an error or that the writer may have confused the last year of Nabonidus or the commencement months of Cyrus with the first year of Cyrus' reign. The twenty-nine years of Herodotus I. 214 and the thirty years of Ktesias (see Justin I. 8.) attributed to Cyrus, refer to his combined rule over Anšan and Babylon. It is therefore probable that Cyrus began to reign in Anšan either twenty or twenty-one years before he captured Babylon; i. e. about 558 or 559. (See Evers, Das Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Cyrus, 39, who sets his birth about 590.)

'šar kibrāti erbittim'—For the origin and significance of this title see now Lehmann, *Samašsumukîn* pp. 78, 93-98.

L. 21. 'Mâr Kambuziya,' etc.

The genealogy of the Achaemenian Kings presents a hitherto unsolved problem, of which a brief statement may be interesting.

Cyrus was descended from the same stock as Darius Hystaspis. Their respective genealogies as given in the Cylinder and the Behistun Inscription may be seen from the following table :

Genealogy of the Cylinder.	{	Cyrus, son of	Darius, son of	} Genealogy of the Behistun Inscription.
		Cambyses, "	Vistaspa, "	
		Cyrus, "	Arsama, "	
		(Sišpiš) Teispis	Ariaramna, " (Çaišpiš) Teispis Hakhamaniš	

Darius Hystaspis in the Behistun Inscription traces his descent from Hakhamaniš (Achaemenes) giving five generations of his ancestry, but adding that eight of his family were formerly kings and that he was the ninth. (See Spiegel, *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, 1881, p. 3). The eight generations can be made up from Herodotus, who in his ancestry of Xerxes added three names between Çaišpiš (Teispis) and Hakhamaniš, the latter of whom, as will be seen from the above table is mentioned in the Behistun Inscription as father of the former. The three names introduced by Herodotus are: another Teispis, whom we may call the first, and another Cambyses and Cyrus. His genealogy giving eight generations is as follows: Her. VII. 11. *Μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀρμυνεω τοῦ Τείσπεος*, adding then *τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τείσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γηγόνως*.

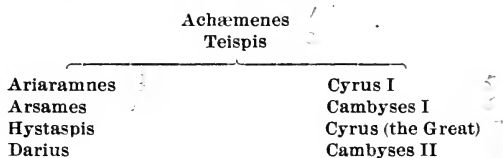
Hystaspis, however, according to Herodotus III. 70, was merely a governor in Persia, though of good family and it is probable that Arsames and Ariaramnes were never Kings, nor are they so called in the Behistun Inscription.

Comparing then the record of the Cyrus Cylinder with the list of Herodotus, still further difficulties arise, as will be seen from the following table:

Herodotus and Behistun Inscription.	{ Hakhamaniš = Achaemenes		
Names given only by Herodotus.	{ Teispis (?) Cambyses (?) Cyrus (?)		
	{ Teispis		
Herodotus and Behistun Inscription.	Ariaramnes	Cyrus I	Cyrus Cylinder
	Arsames	Cambyses I	
	Hystaspis	Cyrus the Great	
	Darius	Cambyses II.	

Omitting the three immediate ancestors of Darius and counting only the other line, beginning with Cambyses II, son of Cyrus the great, nine kings of Darius' family will be found instead of eight. (Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 28, omits Achæmenes, the 'Ahnherr'; but he is especially mentioned by the account of Darius as the first of his house.)

On examining the record of Herodotus (Teispis? Cambyses? Cyrus?) and comparing it with the account of the Cylinder (Teispis, Cyrus, Cambyses, Cyrus) it seems probable that Herodotus misunderstood the genealogies, placing two parallel lines in consecutive order, omitting the Cyrus after Teispis and introducing a second Teispis.<sup>2</sup> Adopting this supposition and omitting the Teispis, Cambyses and Cyrus of Herodotus the following family tree can be presented:



Here again if the three immediate predecessors of Darius be omitted as non-kings, there is an ancestry of only six, whereas if they be included there is a total of nine.<sup>3</sup> Of course the easiest way out of the difficulty is with Halévy (*Museon* 2. 43.) to cut the knot by calling Darius a liar and asserting that he purposely gave a wrong genealogy. (Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, 128, hints at such a solution. See in this connection Delattre, *Medes*, 53).

Concerning the early history of the Achæmenians practically all that can be decided at present is, that if as seems necessary, Ariaramnes, Arsames and Hystaspis be omitted, two unknown kings<sup>4</sup> must be included in the list in order to make up the total of eight claimed by Darius.

As will be seen from the above, the descent of Cyrus the Great is perfectly clear up to Teispis and that Teispis was not only an ancestor

<sup>2</sup> Amiaud, *Melanges Renier* 260, accepts the genealogy of Herodotus and conjectures that the second Teispis may have been the first King of Persia to rule over Anšan.

<sup>3</sup> Floigl (op. cit. 22) includes them, considering them Kings of Hyrcania (see pp. 6-7) and in order to bring down the total, sacrifices Cyrus I. the Grandfather of Cyrus the Great. The latter however distinctly designates his grandfather as 'great King, King of Anšan.'

<sup>4</sup> Spiegel adds before Achæmenes and Teispis two supposed kings of the same name. If, however, Achæmenes, the founder of the dynasty, be conceived of as mythical (the *ἡρώς*—so Büdinger, p. 6, Winckler, p. 28) and as never having reigned, (Meyer, *Gesch.* 559) it will be necessary to supply three supposititious kings. For other opinions concerning this problem see Rawlinson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, 74 ff. Oppert, *Medes*, 113, b. 162 b. refuted however by Spiegel, op. cit. 84, Büdinger 6, Evers. 26 ff. etc.

of Darius Hystaspis, but also an Achæmenian and an Aryan, is shown by the Persian inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> Cyrus was therefore not of Elamitic origin or naturalization, as some have sought to show,<sup>6</sup> but an Aryan of Aryan descent, according to the opinion of the ancient writers both sacred and profane. Not only is Cyrus called King of Persia (Parsu) in the Babylonian inscriptions, but the testimony of the biblical writers as well as of Herodotus, who drew from Greek, Lydian, Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian sources, point to the same fact. We should compare the scriptural references to Cyrus as a Persian or King of Persia; Daniel vi. 28; II Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1, 2, 7, 8; iii. 7; iv. 3. In Ezra v. 13, he is called King of Babylon. (See in this connection Delattre, Medes 48, 49.)

'Šar <sup>ai</sup>Anšan.' The place is specified either as âl Anšan (city of Anšan) as here or mâl Anšan, indifferently. See V R. 64.29, where Cyrus is called King of the country of Anšan and an insignificant vassal of Astyages, '*ardu çaxri*.' The city or country evidently bore the same name. It is mentioned in the astronomical tablets in connection with Subartu. Compare Delattre: Cyrus dans les monuments Assyriens, p. 2, and for Subartu, see Zeitschr. für Assyriol. I. 196.

The country of Anzan or Anšan, over which Cyrus and his three ancestors ruled has excited numerous conjectures. See Evers, op. cit., p. 30 ff. and literature cited. Some critics, such as Rawlinson (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. XII.<sup>2</sup> p. 76) and Sayce (Transactions III. 475) have considered it identical with Elam, following the syllabary II R. 47, 18, where we find An-du-an<sup>ki</sup>-Aš-ša-an=Elamtu. (cf. also Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments, 180, and Meyer, Geschichte, 396, 493.)

That the name cannot be synonymous with Elam is shown in Sen-nach., Taylor, 5, 31, where it is recorded that the King of Elam leagued against Assyria with a number of smaller states among which was Anšan. (See Weisbach, Anzanische Inschriften, 123-124.) Anšan must therefore have been an independent state, but we may conclude from II R., 47, 18 probably at one time tributary to Elam. In early days it appears to have been a feeble power, as it succumbed to the attacks of Princes like Gudea (Amiaud, Ztschr. für Keilschriftforschung 1, 249) and Mutabbil of Dûrîlu (Winckler, Untersuchungen, 116, 156, 157.) In the classical authors there is no mention of the place but the Arab, Ibn el Nadim (Kitab el Fihrist 12, 22, cited JRAS.

<sup>5</sup> Naqsh-i Rostem 8. 'I am Darius — son of Vistaspa the Achæmenian, a Persian son of a Persian, an Aryan son of an Aryan.' In Behistun I, 14, 61 Darius says that the government which Gaumata the Magian usurper took from Cambyses had been in the family from most ancient times. This can only refer to the rule over Persia.

<sup>6</sup> Halévy, Revue des Études Juives, 1880. Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions 7, 1880. Mélanges 6, also formerly Sayce, Herodotus 386; Fresh Light, 167-175. See however Delattre Medes, 45-54, who meets and refutes all of Halévy's theories in this connection. Ktesias stated, apparently with little or no authority that Cyrus was the son of a 'Mardian' robber Athadates.



XII.<sup>2</sup>76) speaks of an **أسان** in the district of Tuster (Shuster) which is probably identical with the Anšan of the Achæmenians.

The title King of Anšan proves nothing against the Persian origin of Cyrus, whose family may have acquired this Elamitic country by conquest, perhaps under Teispis, or some previous king.<sup>7</sup> It is well known that in earlier times Anšan was ruled by a non-Aryan, non-Semitic native line, and it may be supposed that all the Elamitic provinces after the complete overthrow of Elam by Aššurbanipal were an easy prey to any invader. (Note that the language of Anšan was Elamitic—See Weisbach, *Anzanische Inschriften*, 124.125. and below, Appendix II. on v. 28. Amiaud, *Melanges Renier*, 249, thought that Anšan was the most ancient part of Elam.)

With reference to the fact that the Elamitic Susa was the seat of the Persian power, which has been cited by Halevy, (see Delattre, *Medes* 52) as an evidence against the Persian origin of Cyrus we find a satisfactory explanation in Strabo. Susiana, the Geographer said, had become like a part of Persia. After the conquest of Media, Cyrus and the Persians, owing to the remote situation of their own country, established the seat of their government in the more central Susa, the chief city of Susiana, which is not far from Babylon and the other provinces. (See Strabo, 15. 3. 2. cited by Delattre, l. c.) Now as Delattre has pointed out, had Susa been their hereditary capital we would expect to find the Elamitic language as the usual idiom of the Achæmenian inscriptions. It seems probable that the Achæmenian kings and the Persians had at some unknown period of their history conquered and annexed to their own territory the Elamitic country of Anšan. When, with the conquest of Media by Cyrus, a larger territory was at their disposal, a proper capital being necessary for the new empire, the splendour of the old Elamitic Susa influenced Cyrus to establish it as his headquarters.

L. 22. 'ixšixa'—an imperfect also occurs in 'u'—cf. Ašurb. VII. 33. ix-šu-xa, also Tig. VII. 47. Derivatives are 'xušaxxu'='necessity, famine,' cf. Ašurb. III. 125, Tig. VIII. 85. and 'Xišixtu'='need, want'—cf. Aram. חִשְׁחֹת—Dan. iii. 16; Ezra vi. 9; vii. 20. A synonym of 'xušaxxu' is "qalqaltum," V R. 11. 42/43 def.

L. 23. 'ašê'a palaxšû šê'û—to care for, trouble about, is frequently used in a religious sense, cf. ASKT. 75.1.b 'anaku Pulpul mâr Pulpul aradka asxurka eše (ka)'—I N. son of N. thy servant turn to thee, seek thee. There are three verbs, 'šê'û' in Assyrian: viz., 1. šêû—to seek—שָׁחָה, Hebrew שָׁחָה—to look, cf. 2 S. 22.42, to look for help. Gen. iv. 4, 5 look graciously upon, etc. 2. Šê'û—to grow, from which

<sup>7</sup> See Evers, op. cit. 39; Winckler, *Untersuch.* 128. Amiaud, *Melanges Renier*, 260, n. 3, refers the overthrow of Elam in Jeremiah xlix. 34 ff. to the conquest of that country by the Persians. See also H. H. Howarth, *Academy*, no. 1033, p. 182. Note that Ezekiel xxxii. 24 speaks of Elam as a conquered people; cf. Meyer, *Gesch.* 560.

'šê'um' grain, cf. šê'u zêr, I. 70. c. I. 1: also AL<sup>3</sup>93. B. 6. (creation tablet)—Hebrew שֵׁשׁ—sprout. 3. 'šê'û—to fly, cf. Ašurb. VIII. 88.

L. 25. 'Šubatsun'—Hagen, Beiträge II. 232, reads 'šuzuz(?)—su-un, a šafel of 'nazazu'—and translates 'the yoke \* \* \* was taken from them.' This however necessitates supposing an entirely new value 'zuz' for the character 'be, bat, til, ziz.' Besides this objection, the meaning 'taken away' for the šafel of 'nazazu' given by Delitzsch, Wörterbuch, 253, in the passage V. 50.51/52, and cited by Hagen, l. c. in support of this translation of 'šuzuz-su-un' is by no means certain. The passage reads 'šarat zumrišu užzizu' (V.50 51/52) and is rather to be translated 'one the hair of whose body the evil demon has *caused to stand up* (i. e. in fear), and not 'taken away.'

L. 28. 'ma-xar-ša'—see l. 14. 'parakku,'—'sacred shrine,' or 'royal apartment,' not a 'seat,' 'heiliger Göttersitz,' with Lehmann, 'Šamaš-šumukîn,' Glossar. I, and Berliner philologische Wochenschrift, 1891, No. 25 sp. 789. f. The word is a derivative from the stem 'parâku' = to separate, bar off, and signifies literally, a place barred off. Cf. Ašurb. IV. 125 'ša kîma dûri rabê pân Elâmti parku' which like a great wall barred the way before Elam, also l. c. IV. 82 'ša sîqe puruku'—which blocked up the streets. 'Napraku' and 'parku' signify a bolt, and are synonyms of 'mêdilu,' cf. II. 23, 35-37, and 38.

For the form of 'parakku' see Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar, Engl. Ed. p. 169.

L. 29. For 'kuštaru' see Delitzsch in the Zeitschr. für Assyriologie I. 419 ff.

L. 30. 'bilatsunu kabittim.' 'biltu' is probably cognate with the Hebrew בִּלְוִי, see Paul Haupt, Journal of the American Oriental Society, XIII. 51 f.

L. 31. Agane <sup>hi</sup> an ancient city the site of which has not yet been discovered, but it appears to have been on the left bank of the Tigris in northern Babylonia. The idea that the name of the place was 'Agade,' another form of 'Akkad,' (cf. Hommel, Geschichte p. 204 rem. 1. and p. 220; 234) is entirely unfounded. Agane was plundered by Xumbaxaldašu II. King of Elam in the sixth year of the reign of Esarhaddon (674) and the image of the goddess Nana was carried away to Elam. For the ancient kings of the city see Lehmann, 'Šamaš-šumukîn,' 93. Tiele Gesch. 83, 113, 333, and Mürdter-Delitzsch. Babyl. Gesch. 2 ed., p. 73.

'Eš-nu-nak' is Hagen's reading for 'Ab-nu-nak' on account of the form 'Ašnunnak' V. 33. I. 36. (Inscription of Agumkakrime) cf. also 'Iš-nu-nak' I. 66. n. 2 c. II. 3 and see Del., Paradise, 230 f. and Kosseans p. 60. It is a city and district on the border of Elam. In II. 39, 59 g. h. we find it compared with Um-li-aš. Jensen in Keilinschr. Bibliothek III. pt. 1. 137 n. however doubts the identity of Ešnunnak and Umliaš thinking that the former may be the same as the 'mātu

rabû' of l. 60, while the latter may be the 'mātu çixru' mentioned II R. 39.

Zamban and Mê-tur-nu. See Delitzsch, *Paradise*, 230 f. also 203, 204.

Dûr-îlu, see Winckler *Untersuchungen zur Altoriental. Gesch.* 86, Peiser *Aetenstücke*, 77. It was the site of the battle between Xumbanigaš of Elam and Sargon of Assyria.

'pa-at Qutî' = 'entrance' of Gutium. See II R. 51. c. II. 21 and Delitzsch, *Par.* 233—(Hagen). Professor Haupt has suggested that 'pātu' is probably a feminine plural form of 'pû' mouth, just as 'pānu' face is to be considered a masculine plural of the same word. 'pitû' to open may also be a verbal formation from the feminine of 'pû.'

'Qute'—See 'Gutium' on *Annals* III. 17.

'apnama' is probably an abbreviation for 'appunama.' See Delitzsch *Proleg.* 136. According to V R. 47, 55, it is a synonym of ma'diš; see Zimmern *Busspsalmen*, 97 and cf. II. 16, 21 where it appears to have the force of 'very, exceedingly'; 'ina nâri tabbašima mûka daddaru appunama.' When thou art in the river, thy water is exceedingly 'daddaru,' i. e. gall-like—bitter. For 'daddaru,' see also IV. 3, 30<sup>b</sup> (*Busspsalmen* 97), where it is explained by the same ideogram as 'martu'; viz., Çi—cf. Syll. S<sup>b</sup> 194 Çi = martu = gall, bitterness, for 'marratu'—(see Haupt, *Beitr.* 1, 16 and cf. Heb. מַרָּרָה.) 'Daddaru' is, as Jäger has pointed out, a reduplicative formation from אַרר = be dark, hence perhaps dirty. (?) (See *Beiträge* II. 299.)

'appuna' is explained by 'piqa' II. 25, 10; 16, 44, and by the Sumerian 'iginzu' (V. 16, 30 cf. *ASKT.* 182, 12), which according to Jensen, *Kosmologie* 403, is translated in a Berlin syllabary by Assyrian 'mandi,' the exact meaning of which is not clear. (See V. 16, 32 f.) The form 'man(min)dina' occurs Senn. Bawian, 40. See *Del. Assyr. Gram.*, p. 210. For 'piqa' see note to l. 19.

In II. 16, 21 e., we find in the Sumerian column 'an-ga-an' as the equivalent of 'appunama.' This is evidently a byform of 'iginzu.' I believe Jäger (l. c.) is right in connecting 'appunama' with the Talmudic אֶף-נִמִּי = 'indeed, in truth.' In fact all of these words, 'piqa, mandi, iginzu' and 'angan' are probably to be translated in this way.

L. 34. 'maštakišunu' cf. IV. 27. 9b 'ardatam maštakiša ušêlû' = They have made the girl go up from her dwelling. Ašurb. X. 72, 'maštaku šnātu mušallimu bêlešuma' = The abode which blesses its owner.

L. 35. 'Littaškaru'—Niphal Reflexive of 'zaku' with partial assimilation of the 'z' to the 'k.' It is not necessary to suppose a verb 'šaķaru' with Hagen. (Why saķâru with ק?)

Parallel forms are 'išqap' from 'zaqapu' and 'išxur' from 'saxâru.'

L. 37. For UŠ-TUR-XU and TU-KIL-XU—see Hagen, *Beiträge* II. 234.

## THE ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

## TRANSLITERATION.

*Column I.*

- 1 .....  
 .....amêlabkalla<sup>1</sup>-šu  
 2 .....  
 .....šu iš-ši<sup>2</sup> šarru  
 3 .....  
 ....ma-ti-šu-nu<sup>3</sup> ana Bâbîli<sup>7</sup> u-bil-lu  
 4 .....  
 ti (unwritten space.)  
 5 .....  
 šu is-(iz, iç)-xu-xu-ma ul iš-ši.  
 6 .....  
 ti kimat<sup>3</sup>-su-nu ma-la ba-šu-u  
 7 .....  
 (e)-zib. Šarru ummân-šu id-qe-ma ana xu-me-e<sup>4</sup>  
 8 .....  
 .....iš (unwritten space.)  
 9 (Šattu 2 kan).....  
 (ina) araxTebêti ina Xa-ma-a-tu ipšax<sup>5</sup>  
 10 (Šattu 3 kan).....  
 (ina) araxÂbi šadAm-ma-na-nu sa-qi-i  
 11 .....  
 çip-pa-a-tu inbu<sup>6</sup> ma-la ba-šu-u  
 12 .....  
 ši-ib-bi-ši-na ana qi-rib Bâbîli<sup>7</sup>  
 13 .....e-zib-ma iblu<sup>8</sup>-ut. Ina  
 araxKisilîmi šarru ummân-šu  
 14 .....  
 ....tim Nabû-<sup>9</sup>-dan-uçur

<sup>1</sup> NUN-ME.<sup>2</sup> šu iš-ši or iš-lim. This is of course not the ending of a proper name. Cf. Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, pp. 54, 55, who thought the passage referred to Crœsus of Lydia.<sup>3</sup> IM-RI-A.<sup>4</sup> Thus Hagen. Schrader considered it a proper name with determinative.<sup>5</sup> See Brûnnow's List, 3036 for the ideogram.<sup>6</sup> So Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 154.<sup>7</sup> Êl.<sup>8</sup> TIN.<sup>9</sup> Hagen suggests MAX. Winckler has a sign compounded of 'ši' and 'en.'

## THE ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

## TRANSLATION.

*Column I.*

.....	1
.....his leader	2
.....his....the king took away(?)	3
....of their land unto Babylon they brought	4
.....	5
<i>šū is-xu-xu-ma(?)</i> he did not take away	6
of(?) their families, as many as there were	7
he left. The king collected his troops, in order to(?)	8
..... <i>iš.</i>	9
(Second year)....	10
in the month Tebet in the land of Hamatu he gave peace.	11
(Third year).....	12
in the month Âb, the high mountain Amanus	13
willows, fruit as much as there was	14
their....unto the midst of Babylon	
.....he left and remained alive.	
In Kislev the king (collected) his troops.	
<i>tīm Nabû-?-dan-ušur</i>	

- 15 .....  
 (tam)-tim ša mâtAxarri<sup>10</sup> a-na  
 16 .....  
 -du-um-mu it-ta-du-u  
 17 .....  
 .....-ma çabe ma-du-tu  
 18 .....  
 abullu<sup>11</sup> âlŠin-di-ni  
 19 .....  
 .....tidûki-šu  
 20 .....  
 .....te-qu.  
 21 .....  
 .....çabe<sup>11</sup>.

*Column II.*

- 1 (Ummânšu) upaxxir<sup>12</sup>-ma ana eli mKu-raš šar An-ša-an ana ka-  
 (ša-di-šu<sup>13</sup>) il-lik-ma....  
 2 Iš-tu-me-gu ummân-šu ibbalkit-su-ma ina qâti ça-bit a-na mKu-raš  
 id-(di-nu-šu).  
 3 mKu-raš a-na mâtA-gam-ta-nu âl šarru-u-tu kaspu xurâçu ša-šu  
 makkûru<sup>14</sup>.....  
 4 ša mâtA-gam-ta-nu iš-lul-u-ma a-na mâtAn-ša-an il-qî. Ša-šu mak-  
 kûru<sup>14</sup> ša ud .....  
 5 Šattu 7<sup>kan</sup>. Šarru ina âlTe-ma-a mâr šarri amêrabûti u çabe-  
 šu ina mâtAkkadîki.....  
 6 ana Bâbîli<sup>7</sup> lâ illi-ku. Nabû ana Bâbîli<sup>15</sup> lâ illi-ku. Bêl lâ itta-  
 ça-a isinnu<sup>16</sup> (akitu)....  
 7 niqe ina E-sag-gil u E-zi-da ilâni ša Bâbîli<sup>17</sup> u Bar-sap kî (šal-mu)  
 8 iddi<sup>18</sup>-nu urigallu<sup>19</sup> is-ruq-ma bita ip-qid.  
 9 Šattu 8<sup>kan</sup>.  
 10 Šattu 9<sup>kan</sup>. Nabû-nâ'id<sup>20</sup> šarru (ina) âlTe-ma-a, mâr šarri,  
 amêrabûti u ummâ-ni ina mâtAkkadî. Šarru ana araxNîsâni ana  
 Bâbîli<sup>17</sup>  
 11 lâ illi-ku, Nabû ana Bâbîli<sup>15</sup> lâ illi-ku, Bêl lâ ittaça-a i-sin-nu a-ki-  
 tu ba-til  
 12 niqe ina E-sag-gil u E-zi-da ilâni ša (Bâbîli) u Bar-sip-ki kî šal-  
 mu iddi<sup>18</sup>-na.

<sup>10</sup> MAR-TU.

<sup>11</sup> Evidently 'bâbu rabû.'

<sup>12</sup> NIGIN—So Hagen.

<sup>13</sup> Hagen.

<sup>14</sup> ŠA-GA.

<sup>15</sup> Ka-dingîr-ra-ki.

<sup>16</sup> For the ideogram see Delitzsch, *Lesestücke, Schrifttafel*, n. 111. Col. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Tin-tîr-ki.

<sup>18</sup> SE.

<sup>19</sup> ŠEŠ. GAL. I read 'is-ruq' with Hagen as preferable to Schrader's 'kiri(?)'-ma.

<sup>20</sup> AN-PA-I.

.....	15
the sea of the Westland unto	
.....	16
<i>du-um-mu</i> set up.	
.....	17
.....numerous warriors	
.....	18
the gate of the city of Šindin	
.....	19
.....his troops.	
.....	20
.....(marched ?)	
.....	21
.....warriors.	

### Column II.

(His troops) he collected, against Cyrus, king of Anšan, to conquer him he went.	1
(Against) Astyages his troops rebelled and, being taken prisoner, unto Cyrus they gave him.	2
Cyrus unto Ecbatana, the royal city, went, the silver, gold, treasures, spoil.....	3
of the land of Ecbatana they captured and unto the land of Anšan he brought. The treasures and spoil which.....	4
The seventh year. The king in Tema; the nobles and his army in Akkad. (The king for Nisân)	5
unto Babylon came not. Nebo unto Babylon came not, Bel was not brought forth; the New Year's festival (remained uncelebrated), sacrifices in Esaggil and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is (right),	6
they gave, the Urugal poured out libations and guarded the palace. The eighth year.	7
The ninth year. Nabonidus the king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles and his army in Akkad. The king for Nisân unto Babylon	8
came not. Nebo unto Babylon came not, Bel was not brought forth; the New Year's festival remained uncelebrated,	11
sacrifices in Esaggil and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is right, they gave.	12

- 13 araxNisânu ûmu 5<sup>kan</sup>. Ummi šarri ina Dûr-ka-ra-šu ša kišad<sup>21</sup>  
nârPurâtî<sup>22</sup> e-la-nu Sip-par<sup>ki</sup>
- 14 im-tu-ut. Mâr šarri u çabe-šu 3 û-mu šu-du-ru bikîtu šitku-  
na<sup>23</sup>-at. Ina araxSimâni ina mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup>
- 15 bi-ki-tu ina eli ummi šarri šitkuna-at.<sup>23</sup> Ina araxNisâni mKu-raš  
šar mâtPar-su çabe-šu id-qi-e-ma
- 16 šap-la-an <sup>al</sup>Ar-ba-'il nârDiqlat i-rab-ma ina araxÂri ana mât....
- 17 šarri-šu i-duk bu-ša-a-šu il-qi šu-lit ša ram-ni-šu ina libbi u-še-li-  
(ma ?)
- 18 arki šu-lit-su ù šar-ri ina libbi ib-ši.
- 19 Šattu 10<sup>kan</sup>. Šarru ina <sup>al</sup>Te-ma mâr šarri amêl<sup>al</sup>rabûti u ummâ-ni-  
šu ina mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup>. Šarru (ana Nisâni ana Bâbili lâ illi-ku)
- 20 Nabû (ana) Bâbili lâ illi-ku, Bêl lâ ittaça-a isinnu a-ki-tu ba-ṭil  
niqe (ina E-sag-gil u E-zi-da)
- 21 ilâni ša Bâbili<sup>17</sup> u Bar-sip-<sup>ki</sup> kî šal-mu iddi-na. Ina araxSimâni  
ûmu 21<sup>kan</sup> .....
- 22 ša mâtE-lam-mi-ya ina mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup>....amêl<sup>al</sup>ša-kin<sup>24</sup> ina Uruk.....
- 23 Šattu 11<sup>kan</sup>. Šarru ina <sup>al</sup>Te-ma-a, mâr šarri amêl<sup>al</sup>rabûti u ummân-  
šu ina mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup> (Šarru ana Nisâni ana Bâbili lâ illi-ku)
- 24 (Nabû ana) Bâbili<sup>17</sup> šarru ana<sup>32</sup> Bêl lâ ittaça-a isinnu a-ki-tu ba-ṭil  
niq(e ina E-sag-gil u E-zi-da)
- 25 (ilâni ša) Bâbili<sup>7</sup> u (Bar-sip kî šal-mu) iddi-na.....  
About 19 lines wanting. Of reverse about 17 lines wanting.

### Column III.

- 1 .....nârDiqlat.....
- 2 .....še Ištar Uruk.....
- 3 .....ilâni ša mât tam-(tim).....
- 4 .....pl-ni.....
- 5 (Šattu 17<sup>kan</sup>.).....Nabû ištu  
Bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> ana açi-e....
- 6 .....ab šarru ana E-tur-kalam-ma êrub.<sup>25</sup>  
Ina.....
- 7 .....tam-tim šapli<sup>26</sup>-tum ?-bal-ki-tum....  
šit.....
- 8 (Nabû ana Bâbili illi-ku?) Bêl ittaça-a isinnu<sup>5</sup> a ki-tu kî šal-mu  
ep-šu. Ina arax.....

<sup>21</sup> TIK.

<sup>22</sup> UD-KIB-NUN.

<sup>23</sup> ŠA.

<sup>24</sup> MAT (KUR).

<sup>25</sup> TU.

<sup>26</sup> BAL.



The month Nisân. The fifth day. The mother of the king died in Dûrkarâšu, which is on the bank of the Euphrates above Sippar.	13
The son of the king and his army mourned three days, a lamentation took place. In Sivan, in Akkad	14
a lamentation for the mother of the king took place. In Nisân, Cyrus, king of Parsu, collected his troops,	15
below Arbela the Tigris he crossed(?) In Iyyar, to the land of....	16
its king he killed, its loot he took. His own governor(?) he appointed ( <i>lit.</i> made go up) there.	17
Afterward his governor also became king there(?).	18
The tenth year. The king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles and his army in Akkad. The king (for Nisân unto Babylon came not)	19
Nebo unto Babylon came not, Bel was not brought forth; the New Year's festival remained unperformed, sacrifices (in Esaggil and Ezida)	20
unto the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is right, they gave. In Sivan, the twenty-first day.....	21
of the Elamite(?) in Akkad.....the representative in Erech...	22
The eleventh year. The king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles and his army in Akkad. (The king for Nisân unto Babylon came not)	23
(Nebo unto) Babylon (came not). Bel was not brought forth, the New Year's festival remained uncelebrated, sacrifices (in Esaggil and Ezida	24
to the gods of) Babylon and (Borsippa, as is right), they gave.....	25
(About 19 lines wanting. Of reverse, about 17 lines wanting.)	

### Column III.

.....the Tigris.....	1
.....	
.....Ištar of Erech.....	2
.....	
.....gods of the land of the sea.....	3
.....	
.....	4
..... <i>pl. ni</i>	
(The seventeenth year).....Nebo from Borsippa to go forth....	5
..... <i>ab</i> the king unto Eturkalamma entered in the month....	6
.....of the lower sea, rebelled(?)	7
.....	
(Nebo came unto Babylon?) Bel was brought forth. The New Year's festival they celebrated, as is right. In the month....	8

- 9 ilâni ša Marad<sup>27</sup>-da<sup>ki</sup> iluZa-ma-ma u ilâni ša Kiš<sup>ki</sup> Bêlit u ilâni  
 10 ša Xar-sag-kalam-ma ana Bâbili<sup>17</sup> êrubû-ni. Adî<sup>28</sup> kê<sup>29</sup> araxUlûli  
 ilâni ša mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup>  
 11 ša eli šame u šapla<sup>30</sup> šame ana Bâbili<sup>7</sup> êrubû-ni ilâni ša Bar-sip<sup>ki</sup>  
 Kûtû<sup>ki</sup>  
 12 u Sip-par<sup>ki</sup> lâ êrubû-ni. Ina araxDûzi mKu-raš al-tum ina  
 Upê<sup>31</sup> ina mux-(xi)  
 13 nârSal-sal-lat ana libbi ummâ-ni mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup> kî êpu-šu niše mâtAk-  
 kadî<sup>ki</sup> (kî êpu-šu niše mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup>)<sup>32</sup>  
 14 BAL kî uqtaççir<sup>33</sup> niše idûk.<sup>34</sup> Ūmu 14 Sippar<sup>ki</sup> ba-la al-tum  
 a-bit.  
 15 Nabû-nâ'id ixliq.<sup>35</sup> Ūmu 16 mUg-ba-ru amêlpaxât mâtGu-ti-um  
 u abe mKu-raš ba-la al-tum  
 16 ana Bâbili<sup>7</sup> êrub. Arki Nabû-nâ'id kî irtaka<sup>36</sup>-sa ina Bâbili<sup>7</sup> a-bit.  
 Adî<sup>28</sup> kê<sup>29</sup> arxi mašaktuk-kum<sup>e</sup>  
 17 ša mâtGu-ti-um bâbâni ša E-sag-gil isxurû<sup>37</sup> be-la ša mim-ma ina  
 E-sag-gil u ekurrâti  
 18 ul iš-ša-kin u si-ma-nu ul eteti<sup>38</sup>-iq. Araxšamna ūmu 3<sup>kan</sup>. mKu-  
 raš ana Bâbili<sup>7</sup> êrub.<sup>35</sup>  
 19 Xa-ri-ni-e ina pâni-šu irpudû<sup>39</sup>-ni. Šu-lum ana âli ša-kin. mKu-raš  
 šu-lum ana Bâbili<sup>17</sup>  
 20 gab-bi-šu qi-bi. mGu-ba-ru amêlpaxâti-šu amêlpaxâta ina Bâbili<sup>7</sup>  
 ip-te-qid  
 21 u ultu araxKisilîmi adî araxAddari ilâni ša mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup> ša mNa-  
 bû-nâ'id<sup>20</sup> ana Bâbili<sup>7</sup> u-še-ri-du-(ma)  
 22 a-na ma-xa-ze-šu-nu iturû<sup>40</sup>-ni. Araxšamna mûšu ūmi 11<sup>kan</sup> mUg-  
 ba-ru ina eli....  
 23 .....mâr<sup>41</sup> sarri<sup>41</sup> ušma<sup>42</sup>-at. Ultu<sup>27</sup> ša araxAddari adî ūmi 3 ša  
 araxNîsâni bi-ki-tum ina mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup> .....  
 24 niše gab-bi qaqqad-su-nu ilbinûni.<sup>43</sup> Ūmu 4<sup>kan</sup> mKam-bu-zi-ya  
 mâru ša mKu-raš

<sup>27</sup> AMAR-da.

<sup>28</sup> EN.

<sup>29</sup> BE.

<sup>30</sup> KI. TA.

<sup>31</sup> UT.

<sup>32</sup> Repetition clearly due to a scribal error. See also Col. II. l. 24. 'šarru ana.'

<sup>33</sup> SAR. SAR. For value 'qacâru,' see Brûnnow, 4317. This reading was suggested first by Hagen.

<sup>34</sup> GAZ.

<sup>35</sup> XA-A.

<sup>36</sup> LAL.

<sup>37</sup> NIGIN.

<sup>38</sup> LU.

<sup>39</sup> DAG.

<sup>40</sup> GUR-ME.

<sup>41</sup> Hagen.

<sup>42</sup> BE. (Hagen.)

<sup>43</sup> GABpl.

the gods of Maradda, the god Zamama and the gods of Kiš, Beltis 9  
 and the gods  
 of Harsagkamma entered into Babylon. Until the end of Elûl, 10  
 the gods of Akkad,  
 those who are above as well as those below the firmament, entered 11  
 into Babylon. The gods of Borsippa, Kûtû  
 and Sippar entered not. In the month Tammuz when Cyrus gave 12  
 battle in Opis (and ?) on the  
 Salsallat to the troops of Akkad, the people of Akkad he subdued, 13  
 .....  
 whenever they collected he slew the people. On the 14th day Sip- 14  
 par was taken without battle.  
 Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day Gobryas the governor of Gutium 15  
 and the troops of Cyrus without battle  
 entered into Babylon. Afterward, Nabonidus although he had 16  
 shut himself up(?), was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end  
 of the month, shields(?)  
 of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esaggil. No weapons were in 17  
 Esaggil and in the other temples  
 and no standard had been brought in. On Marchešvan 3d, Cyrus 18  
 entered Babylon.  
 The *harine* lay down before him. Peace was confirmed to the city. 19  
 Cyrus pronounced peace to  
 all Babylon. Gobryas, his governor, he appointed governor in 20  
 Babylon and  
 from Kišlev until Adar, the gods of Akkad, which Nabonidus had 21  
 brought down to Babylon,  
 unto their own cities he returned. On the night of the 11th 22  
 Marchešvan, Gobryas against....  
 ....the son of the king he killed. From the 27th Adar until Nîsân 23  
 3d, mourning took place in Akkad....  
 All the people cast down their heads. On the fourth day, when 24  
 Cambyses, son of Cyrus went

- 25 a-na E-ŠA-PA-KALAM-MA-ŠUM-MU kî illiku amêl<sup>44</sup>pit-xat<sup>44</sup>  
 Nabû ša pa... ..  
 26 (kî illi)-ku ina qâti<sup>45</sup> dib-bu uš-bi-nim-ma kî qâta Nabû.....  
 27 (as-ma)<sup>45</sup>-ri-e u mašak<sup>45</sup>išpat<sup>45</sup>pl. ta.....  
 mâr šarri ana.....  
 28 ..... Nabû ana E-sag-gil is-xur<sup>46</sup>lu<sup>46</sup>nique ina pân Bêl u šu.....

*Column IV.*

- 1 .....  
 . .....en  
 2 .....  
 .....e-ki<sup>46</sup> mēpl.  
 3 .....  
 . .....X<sup>47</sup>pl. ik-ta-tur  
 4 .....  
 (iš)-šak-kan arxu bâbu na-pi-il  
 5 .....  
 ....E-an-na ša Ubara<sup>48</sup>ki  
 6 .....  
 bît mu-um-mu ittaçî  
 7 .....  
 .....zi  
 8 .....  
 ....ina Bâbili<sup>7</sup>  
 9 .....  
 .....Bâbili<sup>17</sup> is-kir-ma

<sup>44</sup> Hagen. Schrader has "E. PA. Nabû-??"

<sup>45</sup> Hagen.

<sup>46</sup> Hagen reads: ša Babil-apl.

<sup>47</sup> DAN(?)

<sup>48</sup> See Sb 353.

to E-ŠA-PA-KALAM-MA-ŠUM-MU, the prefect of Nebo who....	25
.....	
when he went, in his hand a message he brought, when the hands	26
of Nebo.....	
javelins and quivers....the son of the king unto.....	27
....Nebo turned to Esaggil, sacrifices before Bel and.....	28

*Column IV.*

.....	1
..... <i>en</i>	2
.....	3
.....	4
....the gate was destroyed,	5
....unto E-anna from....	6
.....	7
..... <i>zi</i>	8
in Babylon.	9
....he shut up Babylon.	

## THE ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

## COMMENTARY.

*Column I.*

L. 6. 'kimatsunu;' 'kimtu' = family, from 'kamû' to bind, is a synonym of 'xammu' and 'âltu,' both meaning family. 'Xammu,' which occurs in the famous name 'Xammurabi,' is a derivative from the stem 'xam-âmu' = to bind or fix firmly. See E. J. Harper, *Beiträge*, ii. 412; 'lux-mum' construed with 'têrêti' = oracles. Cf. also V R. 43. 36d. and II R. 57. 27 ed., cited by him, and compare further Haupt's Texts, p. 36. l. 882, where 'xammu' is explained by the same ideogram as 'êçêdu' = bind, surround, gather. (See also Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 81 and Delitzsch, *Kossæans*. 72 rem. 2.) Another derivative of this stem is 'xammamu' = region, enclosed district, I R. Sargon Barrel-Cylinder l. 9. (Lyon's Sargon. 66. 9.). 'âltu,' the second synonym of 'kimtu' is a rare word from the stem אלהל = to settle, and must be carefully distinguished from 'altu' = 'aššatu' = wife. For this word and the passages where it is found, see Jäger, *Beiträge*, ii. 303.

For the ideogram 'im-ri-a' = 'kimtu' cf. Belser, *Beiträge* ii. 137: I R. 70. c. II l. 2. In IV R. 10. 37. b., however, we find 'im-ri-a' = 'rušumtu,' marsh. See Brünnow, *List*, 8396 ff.

L. 10. 'Ammanânu.' Hommel thinks this is identical with the Babylonian-Elamitic 'Amnânu' (See Lehmann, *Šamašsumukîn*, p. 76. rem. 2). For 'Amnânu,' probably near the border of Elam, see l. c. 40 and 76. Hagen—*Beiträge* ii. 235—reasoning from Tig. Jun. rev. 76 and Sennach. Kuj. 4. 12, believes that 'Ammanânu' of the Annals was a part of Lebanon. It appears impossible to decide at present whether it was an Elamitic or Palestinian mountain.

L. 11. 'çippâtu'—some sort of tree or reed, for whose cultivation water was needed, as it was planted by the side of canals—cf. Hebr. צפצפה and in this connection, Jensen, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, iii. 317, 85 and Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

L. 19. I have followed Hagen's reading GAZA instead of Winckler's 'sigišše' = 'niqû.'

*Column II.*

L. 2. 'Ištumegu' = Astyages. The Median empire, an outline of whose history has been given above, fell into the hands of the Persians in about the year 549 B. C. According to this account which probably belongs to the sixth year of Nabonidus, the Median army rebelled against Astyages their king and delivered him over to Cyrus, king of the tributary state of Anšan (See Cyr. Cyl. note to l. 21.). The latter

then marched upon and plundered Ecbatana the Median capital, soon getting possession of the entire empire.

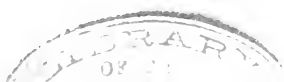
Astyages was the son of the great Cyaxares, conqueror of Nineveh. About the ultimate fate of Astyages there are various accounts. According to Herodotus 1. 130, Cyrus kept him prisoner, but did not maltreat him. The only author, as far as I know, who asserted that the Median king was killed by Cyrus, was Isocrates in his funeral oration on Evagoras, king of Salamis (See Oration, 9. 38. where it is asserted that Cyrus killed the father of his mother, which is probably an allusion to Astyages, with regard to whose relationship to Cyrus, we may suppose that Isocrates followed Herodotus.) According to Ctesias, Cyrus treated Astyages like a father and sent him to a distant province. Some years later, being summoned to court, Astyages was left behind in a desert by the Persian servants of Cyrus who thus thought to do their master a service (cf. Persica, § 5).

Astyages has survived in the tradition of the East under the name of 'اڌدها' or in Armenian 'Adjiahak.' Moses of Chorene, Hist. Armen. edition, Whiston, p. 77, gives the form 'Dahak.' Lenormant explained the name as meaning 'biting serpent,' a translation rightly rejected by Oppert. Weisbach, Achäm. Inschr. zweiter Art. p. 20, remarks that such an epithet would be more befitting a chief of the Sioux Indians than a great king! Weisbach derives the name from the Aryan stem 'aršti'—lance and 'yuga,' a formation from the well known stem 'yuj,' several of whose numerous meanings may be understood in this connection;—thus, 'be connected with, set in motion,' etc. The name may mean 'he who wields a lance'(?). Winckler, without sufficient reason, regarded Astyages as neither a Mede nor a descendant of Cyaxares, but as a Scyth who with his barbarous hordes had gotten possession of Media (Untersuchungen, pp. 124 ff.). For the fall of the Median power under Astyages, cf. among others Büdinger, Ausgang des Medischen Reiches, 1880.

L. 3. 'Agamtânu'—see Keilinschr. und das alte Testament, 378. 524. 598. The 'g' was evidently pronounced like Arabic 'ghain,' as seen from **אחמתא**. (See Haupt, Assy. E Vowel, p. 12, note.)

L. 5. 'Tema'. Evidently not a quarter of Babylon, (Hommel, Gesch. 779; Pinches, Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology, vii. 152) but a place at some distance from the capital. The king would hardly have stopped so long in a quarter of the city without attending the yearly feast of Marduk. Tiele's conjecture (Gesch. 470. n. 1) that Tema was probably not in Akkad, because it is especially stated that the king was in Tema and the son of the king in Akkad, seems improbable, because Akkad was the general name for all Babylonia (See Lehmann, Šamašsumukîn, 71 f.) It is not possible at present to determine the exact situation of Tema.

L. 6. 'isinnu akitu.' See also Pinches' Texts, 15. No. 4. 7. The New Year's festival or 'zagmuku,' (= 'reš šatti,' ראש השנה). See



East India House Inscription, VII. 23 'ina isinin zagmuku'; 'isinnu,' pl. 'isinâte' (see I R. 66. 3. 7.) = festival, probably from a stem  $\sqrt{\text{IDN}}$ . Cf. 'Assinnu' a sort of priest, II R. 32. 22. cf. = ideogram UR. SAL. (cf. also IV R. 31. 12.) UR. SAL, is also explained II R. 36. 49 e, by  $\text{šibkû ša pî}$  = 'weeping or lamenting(?) with the mouth.' May not the duties of the 'Assinnu' have been connected with lamentation, perhaps at funeral rites(?).

The form 'isittu,' Sb. 263, must, as Zimmern remarked, (Busspsalmen, 31. n. 1,) stand for 'isintu' a feminine formation from the same stem as 'isinnu.' For 'isinnu' cf. further ASKT. 80. 18; V. 31. 50; Nimrod Epie. 75. 6.; Sennach. Smith. 119; Asb. Smith. 119. 17.; 126. 77.

'akitu'—perhaps as Hagen points out, l. c. 238, some sort of sacrifice. (See East India House Inscr. IV. 7; 'Bît niqe akîti çîrti.') It is possible, as Hagen suggests, that 'akîti çîrti' in this passage is in apposition to and denotes a peculiar kind of 'niqe.'

For 'akitu' see I R. 67. c. I 35. and Pinches' Texts 17. 7.

L. 8. 'Urīgallu is-ruq.' According to Sc. 1b. 10 ff., ŠEŠ. GAL. = 'urīgallum' = 'massû bîti,' i. e. the 'massû' of the house or temple, a priestly office of very high rank. We should compare here ASKT. 76. 18, where the god Ea is called the exalted 'massû,' and Pinches' Texts, 17. l. 15 ff. where two brothers of the king are mentioned as being endowed with the office of ŠEŠ. GAL; 'Šamaš-šum-ukîn axi-ya talime ana šarrût Kardunyaš ušadgila panuššu. 'Ašur-mukîn-paleya axiya tardinni ana ŠEŠ. GAL-ut ugdallip(?) ina pân.... Ašur-etil-šame-u-êrciti-bala(t)su axiya çixra ana ŠEŠ. GAL-ut pân Sin ašib xarrâni ug-dallip(?)'

I prefer to adopt here the reading 'tardinnu' in place of the usual 'kuddinnu,' regarding it as a word descriptive of close relationship, probably meaning elder brother, and as a derivative of the stem 'radû' = 'to copulate.' Compare 'radû' and 'ridû' synonyms of 'mâru' child, II R. 30. No. 3. l. 30 ff. 'Tardinnu' must be considered a similar formation to 'terdinnu' II R. 30. No. 3. 46. The exact force of the three words 'talimu,' 'tardinnu,' and 'çixru' in the inscription of Ašurbanipal just cited is by no means clear. Lehmann, Šamaššumu-kîn, L<sup>3</sup>. 12, translates 'tardinnu' which he reads 'kuddinnu,' by 'unrechtmässig' and p. 30 by 'unebenbürtig.' Tiele in his review of Lehmann, Ztschr. für Assyriologie, vii. p. 76 prefers to regard the three words as indicative of grades of rank(?).

The real meaning of 'urīgallum' is probably elder brother. See IV R. 58. 33. where the ideogram ŠEŠ. GAL occurs in parallel with 'NIN. GAL-ti' = 'axâti rabîti' = elder sister, and II R. 29. 63. b ff., where we find ŠEŠ. GAL. = 'urīgallum' compared with 'tardinnu' and 'dub-bussu.' For the phonetic reading 'u-ri-gal-lum,' see Scb. 1. 13, where we find it descriptive of the ideogram MAS. MAS.

L. 10. Winekler has omitted 'šarru' before 'ana Nîsâni.'



L. 13. 'Dûrkârâšu'—also to be found II R. 52. No. 2. 651. (Hagen.)

L. 15. 'Parsu'—see Behistun I. 14. 41; 2. 47. In the inscriptions of the second sort we find the form 'Paršin' (See Weisbach—Achämeniden Inschriften zweiter Art. 106.). 'Parsu' in the Annals appears to have been used synonymously with 'Anšan.' Thus, Cyrus seems to have been called indifferently by the Babylonians either 'King of Anšan' or of 'Parsu.' Compare Annals c. II. l. 1 and l. 15 and see also in this connection, Amiaud, *Mélanges Renier* 246. 265).

Whether the name 'Parsua' (Parsuaš) which in early days seems to have been applied either to Northern Media or to some part of that territory, (see Tiele, *Gesch.* 27. 195. 241. 193. 203. and Hommel, *Gesch.* 719. 739. 740. 744) can be identified with the later 'Parsu' = Persia, must remain a matter of doubt. Tiele (*Gesch.* 304) suggested that the name 'Parsua' may have been applied to Persia as early as the time of Sennacherib. It does not seem impossible that the old 'Parsua' may have been the home of Persian tribes, who, migrating to the South, carried the name to the regions about Elam; i. e. to the Elamitic Anšan. H. H. Howarth in the *Academy*, No. 1035, p. 231 (1892) argued with some reason, however, that the Persian tribes could not have occupied Parsua long, or we would find Aryan words in Assyrian, because the Assyrians, as is well known, overran and occupied the country in early times. In *Academy*, No. 1041, p. 373, he mentions as additional evidence that the geographical and personal names of 'Parsua' are not Aryan. It is practically impossible at present to determine the original habitat of the Persians. It is not unlikely, however, as Amiaud has suggested, (*Mélanges Renier*, 246) that the names 'Anšan' and 'Parsu' after the Persian invasion of the former territory became synonymous in much the same manner as Gaul and France, Britain and England.

L. 16. 'Diqlat irab.' According to the latest collation by Hagen (*Beitr.* ii. 240) the sign 'rab' is clear. The meaning 'crossed' is therefore by no means certain although to be expected. The form may signify 'approached.' The only other forms at all similar to this are those cited by Hagen; viz., *Beiträge* ii. 61. 'êrabûni' and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, 33. 'irabbanni' = 'entrusted to me.'

It has been conjectured that this passage is a reference to the Lydian campaign, the only great victory between the sixth and tenth years of Nabonidus for which the Tigris would have to be crossed.\* The advancer of this theory evidently forgot that fully two months would have been necessary for the Persians to go to the Halys, whereas according to the cuneiform account, Cyrus collected his troops in Nisan (March-April) and entered the enemy's country in Iyar (May—

\* Compare Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, 125, who supplies 'Isparida,' = Sardis for the name of the place. Unger, however, *Kyaxares und Astyages*, p. 6, objects quite rightly that the form 'Isparida' is not the Babylonian form, which would have been 'Saparda.' 'Isparida' is the form found in the Achæmenian Inscriptions of the 'second sort.'

June). The short space of time occupied on the march shows conclusively that the object of the attack cannot have been Lydia, but was probably some country necessary as a basis of operations against that kingdom. Because of the doubtful meaning of 'irab,' there is even no authority for supposing that this place is on the west bank of the Tigris, as did Evers, *Emporkommen der persischen Macht*, 9. n. 1. All that we can say is that the land to which Cyrus went, must have been below Arbela, not far from the Tigris. Certainly neither Meyer's idea, that this is a reference to the battles in the Median provinces west of the Euphrates, *Gesch.* p. 603, nor Winckler's conclusion that the country was Singara or some independent state between the rivers, is satisfactory (See *Untersuchungen*, 131).

L. 17. 'Šulit ša ramnišu.' His own governor; probably a shaphel feminine formation of 'êlû' = to go up. 'Šulit' would mean 'one who is set up or appointed,' with feminine ending as in 'pixâtu' = prefect, governor. Hagen translates in this passage 'garrison,' citing *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, 427. 11 ff. where Delitzsch demonstrates that 'šûlû' can mean 'bring soldiers into a fortress.' We may note here, that the words 'šalûtu,' V R. 11. 11 f., and 'šulûtu,' *Sennach. c. IV. 48.* = lordship, usually understood as derivatives from 'šâlu' to decide (*Zimmermann, Busspsalmen*, p. 99), may be regarded equally well as abstract formations from the shaphel of 'êlû.'

L. 22. 'Elammiya' = Elamite. I have adopted Hagen's translation here as being preferable to the attempts of former translators who understood the word as denoting 'Elam' (see Sayce, *Fresh Light*; Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot.* 58; Halévy, *Mélanges*, 2. etc.). I know no other example of a gentile ending 'ya.'

This mutilated passage may indicate that there was an invasion of the Persians from the side of Elam, possibly directed against Erech. Unger, *Kyax. und Astyages*, 7, believed this passage, ll. 21-22, to refer to the invasion of Lydia. The situation of Erech so far to the south-west, however, would preclude the possibility of an attack on Lydia from this quarter.

L. 23-4. See Delitzsch's opinions as given by Hagen regarding the restoration of these lines. It is of course impossible to conjecture with any certainty to what events the lines missing between Cols. II. and III. referred. Hagen suggested with some show of reason that the Lydian campaign may have been here described. We have seen that the country alluded to in l. 16 cannot have been Lydia. (See above note to Col. II. 16.) It seems probable, therefore, there being no other place in the *Annals* for the allusion, that, if there were any reference to the Lydian war in this account, it would have been just before the description of the capture of Babylon; i. e. just before Col. III. I cannot agree with Winckler's conclusion that, because the chronicle gives no account of any hostilities in the seventh and eighth years of Nabonidus' reign, the Lydian campaign must have taken place during

those years. If the Annals were completely preserved we should certainly expect to find mention made of so important a campaign as the Lydian. It seems permissible to suppose that the records of the seventh and eighth years are silent, because no events of any importance occurred at that time. We may be allowed therefore, pending further discoveries, to place the Lydian campaign as late as from the twelfth to the sixteenth year of Nabonidus and to conclude that the account of it in the Annals is lost with the missing lines at the end of Col. II.

### Column III.

L. 7. 'tamtum BAL-tum' = 'šaplîtum.' For this use of BAL cf. II R. 30. 3. c. 'An-ta-bal-ki' = 'elîtum u šaplîtum; in II. 62. 63a. ki-an-bal = ditto (ša-pil-tum?) u e-lî-tum.

L. 9. 'Šar Marad-da.' For 'Marad-da' see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, 220 and for 'Kiš' op. cit. p. 218. 'Zamama' was evidently from this passage and the following, the chief deity of 'Kiš.' The reading is still uncertain. For the name compare II. 61. 52 f. 'bît zamá-má ša Kiš,' written, however, with the character 'ma,' 'mal,' 'ga.' According to II R. 57. 70, this deity is equivalent to Adar (Ninib). (See further Brünnow, List, No. 11761.) The only compound known to me in which the name occurs, is the proper name, 'Zamamanadinšumu' king of Babylon and contemporary of 'Ašurdân, the grandfather of Tiglath-pileser I. (See Tiele, *Geschichte*, 104, 148.)

L. 10. 'Xarsagkalama' was the centre of culture for the old 'šarrût kibrât erbitti.' Salmanassar II. and Tiglath-pileser III. offered sacrifices there. (See Lehmann, 'Šamašsumukîn,' 95, 97, 98 and Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 219).

'Ketum.' See II R. 35. 62. c. = 'ki-i-tum.' (Brünnow, List, No. 1513.)

L. 11. 'ša eli šame u šapla šame.' It is perfectly possible to read 'IM' here as in II R. 50. 23. where it is explained by 'ša-mu-u' = heaven. Hagen reads it as 'šâru' = wind, and translates the passage; '....Akkad of the part above as well as that below the 'Windrichtung(?)', referring the relative 'ša' to 'Akkadî.' (See *Beiträge*, ii. p. 243.) It seems to me, however, possible to understand 'ša' as referring to 'ilâni.' Hagen's objection to the translation, 'above and below the atmosphere,' applied to images of the deities, does not really hold good. Why may the reference not be to the images of the *higher* and *lower* gods; i. e. of those *above* and those *below* the vault of the heaven? (For the Babylonian heaven, see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 4-16.)

L. 12. 'Upêki' = 'Opis.' So Pinches—see literature cited by Hagen, *Beiträge*, ii. 243/244 and note 1. Hommel, *Gesch.* 785 read 'Kiš; others 'Rutu,' a place in S. Babylonia. So Halévy, *Mélanges*, 3; Sayce, *Fresh Light*, 171, and formerly Pinches, *Transactions*, vii. 174. n. 1. (See also Büdinger, op. cit. 12; Evers, op. cit. 13, n. 1.)



'Salsallat.' The situation of this canal(?) is doubtful. It seems probable according to Hagen that the first conflict took place at Opis, after which the Babylonians under Belšaruḡur retired to the 'Salsallat,' where they were defeated.

L. 14. With regard to the reading of 'BAL,' I fully agree with Hagen, *op. cit.*, 244.

L. 15. Gutium, according to Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 233, was the upper region of the Adhem and Diyala. Compare in this connection the tablet cited by Hagen, 81-7-27-22 which plainly places Gutium between Akkad and Elam. The province may have included the sources of the Adhem. The Guti were nomads on the Assyro-Babylonian border in Ašurbanipal's time. (See Tiele, *Gesch.* 378.) 'Agumkakrime' refers in V R. 33. c. 1. 38. to 'Alman šar mât Gu-ti-i niše saklati,' for whom see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 205. (*Keilinschr. Bibl.*, iii. 1. 137.)

L. 16. 'tukku' = shield is possibly from  $\sqrt{\text{'takû}}$  = to lift up, synonym of 'našû.' (See Delitzsch, *Beiträge*, i. 198.) It seems to be a form like 'šurru' = beginning, from  $\sqrt{\text{'sarû}}$ . The 'su' before the word is, as Hagen points out, merely the determinative for skin or leather, of which shields were made. The former reading 'sutukku' was as incorrect as the reading 'sunadi' in I R. Sennach. III. 80, for 'sunâde,' where 'su' is 'mašku,' determinative, and 'nâde' is plural of 'nâdu' =  $\text{𒌦}$  = bottle, i. e. leather bottles.

L. 17. The troops of Gobryas had surrounded the temples, perhaps to prevent any attempts on the part of the Babylonians who might organize a rebellion to use the temples and shrines as storehouses for arms. The exact sense of the line is not clear. Tiele, *Geschichte*, 472. n. 3, believed that the remnant of the Babylonian party had taken refuge in the great temple of Esaggil which was consequently besieged by troops of Gutium. The idea of Pinches, *Transactions*, and Sayce, *Fresh Light*, 171, that this passage records a rebellion of the troops of Gutium against Cyrus is most improbable.

'be-la' = weapons. See I R. 66. c. III. 13. 'bi-e-la-a.' The usual plural form is of course 'bele,' cf. I R. 47. c. VI 48; IV R. 48. 1. a; V R. 5. 62.

L. 18. 'simânu' means standard; cf. Sennach. Prism. V 78-79; 'kîma mîxi gabši ša šamûtum simâni u munnišunu ušarda ġir êrġiti šadilti,' like a mighty storm of violent rain I made their standards and 'munni' (weapons?) be strewn over the wide earth. In connection with the passage, ll. 17-18 in the *Annals*, compare especially V R. 6. 17. 'bele ġarâbi, simânû u mimma êpeš taxâzi.' 'Simânu' is a formation from the stem 'asâmu,'  $\sqrt{\text{'wâšmâ}}$ , like 'lidânu' from 'alâdu,'  $\sqrt{\text{'wâlâdâ}}$ .

L. 19. 'xarine ina pânišu irpuđûni' = the 'xarine' lay down before him, i. e. in homage. The word 'xarine' has not yet been found elsewhere. It may denote some sort of officials or nobles(?).

L. 23. From a new collation of the inscription Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch has recently explained this passage as a record of the slaying

of the king's son. He says that at the beginning of l. 23 he believes that he saw plainly the sign TUR, before which, however, was a very narrow sign like 'ši' or 'ša.' 'Ša' being the more probable reading, he proposes, pending further discoveries, to read 'ina muxxi ŠA;' i. e. 'iššakin;' i. e. he went against and killed the king's son. See Hagen, *op. cit.* p. 247.

The former tendency was to refer this passage to the death of the king or of his wife. Būdinger, *Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus*, 14., Evers, *Das Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Cyrus*, and Halévy, *Mélanges*, 4, all considered this line to refer to the death of Nabonidus. Meinhold, *Diss.* 30. n. 2, referred the allusion to Belshazzar, reading 'the king died,' and considering him king of the city. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 155 gives traces of the sign 'DAM = aššatu = wife (also Pinches) which would give the reading 'the wife of the king died.'

For discussion regarding the death of Belshazzar, see above.

L. 24. 'qaqqadsunu ilbinûni,' 'cast down their heads in deep grief'—cf. the familiar 'labânu appi'—casting down of the face in worship, ASKT., 115, 2; 80, 14; V R. 10. 31; IV R. 26. 65. b; also I R. Anp. II. 134, 'ina labâna' = 'with prayer.'

#### *Column IV.*

L. 6. 'bît mummu'—most probably the college of sages, priests of Ea, attached to the court and dedicated to Ea as god of supreme wisdom; cf. V. 65. 32, where Nabonidus speaks of having collected the 'enqûti âšib bît mummu' and IV 23. n. 1. c. IV. 25; 'enuma alpa ana bît mummu tušêribu.' In the inscription of Merodach-Baladan II., published by Peiser and Winckler, *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, iii. 1. p. 186. l. 5. b, Ea himself is called the 'mummu bân kala' = source of wisdom, creating all things. 'Mummu' is undoubtedly the 'Μωμῆς' of Damascius, ('De primis principiis,' Cap. 125). It is probably a reduplication of 'mu' = water i. e. mu + mu (Haupt). In ASKT. Syl. 513. we find 'mummu' and 'šiqîtu' explained by the same ideogram. Ea being the god of the deep and of wisdom it would be peculiarly appropriate that his sanctuary be called 'the house of the waters.' The term 'mummu,' then, by a natural development of ideas, came to mean 'wisdom' or 'art.' I see no reason, therefore, with Jensen, *Kosm.* 322, to distinguish two words 'mummu'; the one being the same stem as in 'um-mânu' = artisan(?); i. e. אמן. In V 28. 63. gh. we find 'mummu' = 'bi-el-tum,' a word which may be a derivative from the stem בול = be moist and then plenteous; cf. bûlu = cattle, I R. 27. 62. b.; Tiglath. c. VI. 82. etc. The Hebr. בול means offspring, 'proventus,' and Assyrian 'bûltu' = sexual power. (See ASKT. 81. 10., IV R. 2. 17. 18. c. 'gallu ša bûltu la išû,' the demons who have no sexual power; also I R. Senn. VI. 1; East India House Inscr. c. IX. 33. and Deluge, l. 233—çubât bûltišu' = the garment of his private parts.)

## APPENDIX II.

### TRANSLATION OF THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL.\*

<sup>(1)</sup>Belshazzar<sup>a1</sup>, the king, gave a great feast<sup>b2</sup> to a thousand of his lords and in the presence of the thousand drank wine. <sup>(2)</sup>Belshazzar commanded, being under the influence of the wine<sup>a</sup>, to bring the vessels<sup>b</sup> of gold and silver which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken from the temple which was in Jerusalem, in order that the king and his wives<sup>c</sup> and his concubines might drink out of them<sup>1</sup>. <sup>(3)</sup>Then they brought the vessels of gold which they had taken away from the temple of the house of God, which is in Jerusalem, and the king and his lords, his wives<sup>1</sup> and his concubines drank out of them<sup>2</sup>. <sup>(4)</sup>They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, brass, iron, wood, and stone.

<sup>(5)</sup>At that same moment came forth<sup>a</sup> fingers of a man's hand and wrote opposite<sup>b1</sup> the chandelier on the plaster<sup>c2</sup> of the wall<sup>d</sup> of the king's palace; and the king saw the hand<sup>e</sup> which wrote. <sup>(6)</sup>Then the king changed color<sup>a</sup> and his thoughts terrified him and the joints of his hips were loosened<sup>1</sup> and his knees knocked one against the other<sup>2</sup>. <sup>(7)</sup>The king called with a loud voice to summon the magicians, the Chaldeans<sup>1</sup> and the horoscopists. The king spoke and said to the wise men of Babylon that any man who could read this writing and show its interpretation<sup>a</sup> should wear<sup>2</sup> scarlet<sup>3b</sup> and a chain<sup>4</sup> of gold upon his neck and should rule as third<sup>c</sup> in rank in the kingdom<sup>5</sup>. <sup>(8)</sup>Then all the wise men came in, but could not read the writing nor show its interpretation to the king. <sup>(9)</sup>Then the king Belshazzar was greatly disturbed and his color changed and his lords were confounded<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>(10)</sup>But the queen<sup>1</sup> entered the banquet hall by reason of the exclamations<sup>2</sup> of the king and his lords and the queen spoke and said: O King, live forever<sup>3</sup>; let not thy thoughts terrify thee nor thy color be changed. <sup>(11)</sup>There is<sup>a</sup> a man in thy kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods and in the days of thy father enlightenment and understanding and wisdom like the wisdom of the gods were found in him, and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father appointed him chief of the hierogrammatists<sup>1b</sup>, the magicians, the Chaldeans, and the horoscopists—aye even the king thy father<sup>2</sup>. <sup>(12)</sup>Because an extraordinary power and knowledge and understanding to interpret<sup>a</sup> dreams and to show hidden matters and to solve riddles were found in Daniel whom the

\* The numerical references refer to the critical notes and the letters to the appended linguistic remarks.

king called Belteshazzar<sup>1b</sup>; so let Daniel be summoned, in order that he may show the interpretation.

<sup>(13)</sup>Then Daniel was brought in before the king (and) the king spoke and said: So thou art Daniel<sup>1</sup> of the sons of the exiles of Judah, whom<sup>2</sup> the king my father brought from Judæa. <sup>(14)</sup>I have heard concerning thee that the spirit of the gods is in thee and that enlightenment and understanding and extraordinary skill are found in thee. <sup>(15)</sup>And now the wise men (and)<sup>1</sup> the magicians have been brought in before me, in order that they should read this writing and make known its interpretation to me, but they are not able to show the interpretation of the thing. <sup>(16)</sup>But I have heard concerning thee that thou art able to make interpretations and solve riddles. So if thou canst read the writing and make known to me its interpretation, thou shalt wear scarlet and a chain of gold upon thy neck and shalt rule as the third in rank in the kingdom.

<sup>(17)</sup>Then Daniel answered and said before the king: Let thy gifts be<sup>a</sup> to thyself<sup>1</sup> and give thy presents to another; yet I will read the writing for the king and will make known the interpretation to him<sup>2</sup>. <sup>(18)</sup>O King<sup>1</sup>, the Most High God gave a kingdom and greatness and glory and might unto Nebuchadnezzar thy father<sup>2</sup>. <sup>(19)</sup>And on account of the greatness which He gave him, all peoples, nations and languages were trembling<sup>a</sup> and fearing<sup>b</sup> before him. Whomsoever he would<sup>c</sup> he killed and whomsoever he would he kept alive; and whomsoever he would he exalted and whomsoever he would he brought low. <sup>(20)</sup>But when his heart was high and his spirit was haughty with pride, he was hurled from the throne of his kingdom and they took his glory from him, <sup>(21)</sup>and he was cast out<sup>a</sup> from among the children of men and his reason was made like<sup>b</sup> to the beasts and his dwelling was with the herds<sup>1</sup>. They fed him grass like oxen and his body was moist<sup>c</sup> with the dew of the heavens, until he discovered that the Most High God is ruler over the kingdom of men, and that whomsoever He will He appoints over it<sup>2</sup>. <sup>(22)</sup>But thou Belshazzar his son hast not humbled thine heart although thou knewest all this. <sup>(23)</sup>But thou hast exalted thyself against the Lord of the heavens and they have brought the vessels of His house before thee; and thou and thy lords, thy wives and concubines were drinking wine from them, and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor notice<sup>1</sup>; but the God in whose hand are thy life and all thy paths<sup>2</sup>, Him thou hast not honored. <sup>(24)</sup>Then<sup>1</sup> the hand was sent forth from Him and this writing was engraved.

<sup>(25)</sup>And this is the writing which was written: There have been counted a mina, a shekel and two half-minas,<sup>1a</sup> <sup>(26)</sup>This is the interpretation of the thing: Mina—God has counted thy kingdom and finished it. <sup>(27)</sup>Shekel—thou hast been weighed in the balances and found wanting. <sup>(28)</sup>Half-mina—thy kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and Persians.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>(29)</sup>Then Belshazzar gave orders to clothe<sup>1</sup> Daniel in scarlet and a chain of gold about his neck and that they should proclaim publicly concerning him that he be the third ruler in the kingdom. <sup>(30)</sup>In that same night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain <sup>(31)</sup>and Darius the Median received the kingdom, being sixty-two years old.

## COMMENTARY ON DANIEL V.

## CRITICAL NOTES.

Verse 1. Note 1.—Belshazzar, as stated before, is identical with *Belšarucur*, the son of Nabonidus the last king of Babylon.

Note 2.—At such a feast the king would probably sit facing his lords at a separate table; cf. I. Sam. 20, 25 where the king sat during his meal on a special seat by the wall, and in this connection, see also fig. 33 in Kaulen's *Assyrien und Babylonien*, p. 54, representing an Assyrian king taking his meal surrounded by his servants and protected by the gods. According to Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, Bk. IV. 26 on the authority of Heraclides of Cuma in the second part of his *Paraskeuastika*, this was also the custom of the Persian kings at festivals. (Cf. v. Lengerke, *Daniel*, p. 243.) Posidonius (100 B. C.)—*De Parth.* I. v. in *Athen.* 4. 38, quoted Pusey, 383 n. 2—gives the same account of the Parthians. For ancient customs regarding the royal table see further Jahn, *Biblical Archæology*, transl. by Upham (1849), § 227. 'In the presence of' = before, facing them. Θ has 'κατέναντι.' It is not necessary to translate by 'propinare' with Bertholdt, *Dan.* 364, Hävernick, *Dan.* 174, etc.

Verse 2. Note 1.—The author evidently regarded this as a terrible profanation (see v. 23). Hävernick's strange idea (*Dan.*, 175 ff.) that Belshazzar wished to honor Jehovah by using the sacred vessels, finds no confirmation in the text. That the vessels were not sent for until the king was well in his cups, seems to show that the author wished to represent the command as a drunken whim. These vessels were brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar at the time of the first capture of Jerusalem (597 B. C.) in the reign of Jeconiah (*II. Kings* 24. 13), and were restored by Cyrus in the first year of his reign at the time of the return of the exiles. (*Ezra* 1. 7 ff.)

Verse 3. Note 1.—The wife of the king who held the rank of queen was among the Assyrians and Babylonians usually she who bore the first son. (Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 118.) As it is well known that the greatest freedom of life prevailed at Babylon, especially with regard to the relations between the sexes, there is nothing incongruous in the statement that women were present at feasts. According to Curtius 5. 5, they were admitted to drinking bouts. He says with respect to the shocking immorality of the women at these feasts; 'Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus: dein summa quaeque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (honus auribus sit) ima cor-



porum velamento projiciunt: nec meretricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comites habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.'

Regarding the Persian customs in this matter, accounts vary. According to Josephus it does not seem to have been proper for women to be seen by strangers. (See *Antiquities*, xi. 6. 1, referring to Esther i. 10-12, the refusal of Vashti to obey the king's command to present herself before him and his lords.) On the other hand, if the record of Esther can be trusted thus far, the queen consort seems to have been able to invite men high in rank to dine with her and the king (Esther v.). In Herodotus, too (5. 18), it is stated that not only the concubines, but also the young wives were accustomed to be present at Persian feasts. Plutarch, however, asserts (*Sympos. I. 1.*) that concubines were allowed at feasts but not wives. (See Pusey, Daniel, 382. n. 2.) This statement was applied to the Parthians by Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, Lib. 7. 1., cited by Hävernîck, Dan. 180. (Compare Justin, 41. 3).

It is worthy of notice that the Septuagint makes no mention of the presence of women in this passage of Daniel. Hävernîck, Dan. 180, thought that the translator deliberately omitted it, as being repugnant to his ideas of propriety.

Note 2.—Verse 3 is a good example of the repetition of the narrative style. One codex omits it altogether,—see Bertholdt, Daniel, 368. n. 4.

Verse 5. Note 1.—Opposite the light where the writing could be most easily seen.

There is a double Greek translation of vv. 1, 4 and 5 (for the variants see Pusey, Daniel, 502). In this verse the words written on the wall are transferred from verse 25 and the following interpretation is given: 'mane'—it is numbered; 'phares'—it is taken away and, 'thekel'—it is weighed. (See note to v. 25.)

Note 2.—A plain stucco work or simple painted plaster. In the ruins of the palace at Nimroud a thin coating of painted plaster was discovered by Layard, the colors of which when first found were still fresh and brilliant. (Nineveh 2. 203; see also Kaulen, *Assyrien und Babylonien*, p. 52; 109; 262.) The interior of the later Babylonian houses was frequently painted, on the lower half of the wall more in figures, but above ornamentally. (See Reber, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, i. 303.) That plaster mixed with ashes was used for mortar is evident from the ruins of Ur (Mugheir), but it is probably a later development. (So Reber, *op. cit.*, 145.)

Plaster seems to have been known also in Palestine; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, viii. 5. 2., describing Solomon's palace—'but the other part up to the roof was plastered over and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures.' (In this connection cf. Jahn, *op. cit.*, § 39.)

The feast of Belshazzar is represented by the author to be in a room or hall, and not necessarily in a garden (v. Lengerke, 247), or pavilion (Hävernîck, 181). Hezel (cited Bertholdt, Daniel, 369) thought that it was in the inner court of the palace(?).

Verse 6. Note 1.—Some of the interpretations of the older commentators are very grotesque. For example, Grotius and Maldonatus, understanding ‘loins’ as the private parts, translated ‘urina defluebat.’ It may be interesting in this connection to compare the famous passage of the prism inscription of Sennacherib; Col. 6. ll. 19, 20, 21; Itarraku libbušun šinâtīšun ngarrapu qirib narkabâtīšunu umašširu niğûšun; ‘Their heart failed them; with their urine they soiled their chariots. They let their excrement fall.’ See Schrader’s *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. pp. 110, 111. Sanetius (quoted Hävernick, *Dan.* 184) thought that the passage in Daniel referred to an ‘emissio seminis’ from fear! For the expression of violent emotions of fear and suffering ascribed to the loins see Ezekiel xxi. 12: נָמַס כָּל-לֵב וּרְפוּ כָל

יָדַיִם וְכָהָתָה כָּל-רוּחַ וְכָל-בְּרָכִים תִּלְכְּנָה מִיִּם תַּחֲשֻׁכְנָה עֵינֵיהֶם מִרְאוֹת וּמִתְנִיָּהֶם תָּמִיד הַמָּעַר: Also Psalm lxi. 24: מִחֵן מִתְנִים קָמְיוֹ—i. e. put them to confusion; Isaiah xxi. 3: עַל-בֶּן מְלָאוּ מִתְנֵי חִלְחִלָה צִירִים: and אֲחֻזּוֹנִי בְצִירִי יוֹלְדָה נְעוּתִי מִשְׁמַע נִבְהִלְתִּי מִרְאוֹת: and Nahum ii. 2, referring to Nineveh: בּוֹקָה וּמְבוֹקָה מִמְלָקָה וְלֵב נָמַס וּפִיךָ בְּרָכִים וְחִלְחִלָה כָּל-מִתְנִים וּפְנֵי כָל־קִבְצוֹ פְּאֵרוֹר:

Note 2.—Theodotion omits the translation of רָא לְדָא—‘one against another,’ but another version has τούτο τούτω. See Field, *Hexapla* Cod. 87.

Verse 7. Note 1.—The author applies the term “Chaldaean” sometimes to the ruling people of Babylon, as in ch. iii. 8; v. 30; ix. 1, but much oftener uses the name, as here, to denote a class of magicians, or as a general term for all magicians.

It is a common error to consider the name Chaldaean as synonymous with “Babylonian” or even “Old Babylonian.” The Chaldaeans were clearly in ancient times a people quite distinct from the inhabitants of Babylonia. Their exact origin is extremely uncertain. It may be conjectured with Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, 48), judging from the Semitic character of their proper names, that they were a Semitic people, or with Jensen (see Lehmann—Šamašsumukin, p. 173), that they were “Semitised Sumerians,” i. e. a non-Semitic race which by contact with Semitic influences had lost its original character. It seems probable that they came first from the South at a very early date, along the coast of the Persian Gulf. (For the old opinion of Gesenius, Heeren, Niebuhr, etc., that the Kaldi came from Armenia and Kurdistan and conquered Babylon shortly before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, see Tiele, *Geschichte*, 65.). Having settled in the region about Ur ( . . . אֹר כְּשָׂרִים), they began a series of encroachments on the Babylonians proper, which after many centuries ended in the Chaldaean supremacy under Nabopolassar and his successors. (That Nabopolassar was a Chaldaean, see Tiele, *op. cit.* 421; Winckler, *op. cit.* 60 ff., and for the

history of the rise and development of the Chaldaean power, compare Tiele 65; 207; 211; 286; 287; 362; 422; Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-64; Delattre, "Les Chaldéens," Paris, 1877.)

The peculiar use of the name "Chaldaean" in this passage of Daniel, to denote a class of magicians, is not only entirely foreign to the usage of the Old Testament, but is peculiar to the Greek and Roman writers. The term *Χαλδαῖοι* is used, for example, by Herodotus to denote the priestly class of Babylonia, from whom he got his historical information. This transfer of the name of the people to a special class is probably to be explained in the following manner.

The sudden rise of the Babylonian Empire under the Chaldaean rule of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, tended to produce so thorough an amalgamation of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians who had hitherto been racially distinct, that, in the course of time, no perceptible differences existed between the two peoples. The name "Chaldaean," however, lived on in the restricted sense already mentioned and for the following reasons. The Kaldi had seized and held from most ancient times the region of old Sumer, the centre of the non-Semitic culture. (See Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 173.) It seems extremely probable that they were so strongly influenced by this superior civilization as to eventually adopt it as their own, and, as they were the dominant race, the priestly caste of that region became a Chaldaean institution. It is reasonable to conjecture that Southern Babylonia, the home of the old culture, supplied Babylon and other important cities with priests, who from their descent were correctly called Chaldaeans; a name which in later times, owing to the amalgamation of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians when the term had lost its national force, became a distinctive appellation of the priestly caste. (Compare in this connection Gutbrod, *Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, vi. pp. 29 ff. Lehmann, *op. cit.* 173, and Delattre, *Chaldéens*, pp. 29-34.) It may not be out of place to remark here that Lagarde, thinking of *נְלוֹה הִנֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם* Isaiah xiv. 1 and *בֶּן הַנֶּכֶר הַנְּלוֹה אֶל יְהוָה* Isaiah lvi. 3, believed that the original Levites or Jewish religious caste were those Egyptians who had gone with the Israelites in their exodus from Egypt. That Egyptians went out with Moses is probable from Exodus xii. 38 (Numbers xi. 4?), and that Egyptian influence in Israel appears evident from the examples cited by Lagarde. He believed that Moses was an Egyptian and treated the account of his birth and exposure (Exodus i. 1-10) as a fable similar to the Persian story that Alexander the Great was a son of Darius. If Lagarde's theory be true, it explains why Moses found his chief support in the Levites, his fellow countrymen. Lagarde goes on to say that if the Levites were Egyptians, this explains why they were able to govern the Israelitish nation; i. e. by virtue of their higher culture; it shows why the Levites do not appear as a regular tribe, and finally, it explains what the Egyptian sources relate about the Hebrew exodus. (See Lagarde *Symm.* 2. 35 and in connection with

this theory cf. also, *Orientalia*, H. 2. 1880, pp. 20-21 and Meyer, *Geschichte*, I. 3776.)

The Chaldaean priestly caste was in all probability an hereditary order, as Diodorus Siculus (II. 29) stated. According to the same authority the priests were divided into three classes; first, those who celebrated sacrifices and performed purifications, secondly, those who recited incantations to keep off evil spirits, and finally, those who explained portents and dreams. (See Tiele, *Geschichte*, 546.) This division is, as Tiele remarks, not contradicted by the inscriptions, although it cannot be known with certainty what Assyrian names may correspond to each of these classes. The scribes (Tupsarre), whose tutelary deity was Nebo, were also a priestly class, from whom all the literature of the times proceeded.

Note 2.—This translation seems perfectly clear, as already Bertholdt saw (Daniel, 372-373.). He translated it: 'Der darf den Purpurmantel und den goldenen Halsschmuck tragen.' There is no need to supply 'have' as does our Authorized Version.

Note 3.—The darker purple scarlet was a color held in high esteem in antiquity. Compare Ezekiel xxvii. 7; Esther viii. 15, Herodotus 3. 20, and Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1. 3. 2: 8. 5. 18. We may remember the 'purpurati' of the Persian kings who wore the *κάνδυς*. Oriental sovereigns sent robes of this color to their vassals very much as the popes sent the pallium in the middle ages (I Maccabees x. 20: xiv. 43. 44.). The Syriac chronicle of the Jacobite primate Gregory Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) relates how the Sultan Masud sent a purple robe to a favorite who had done him a service (cf. Hävernicks, Dan. 187.)

Note 4.—A gold chain seems to have been worn by the higher class Persians (Xenophon, *Anab.* 1. 8. 29). It was given as a sign of special favor (cf. Herodotus, 3. 20: *Anabasis*, 1. 27, and Jahn, op. cit. §130).

Note 5.—Third in rank, i. e. after Nabonidus and Belshazzar. Probably not "one of the board of three," following chapter vi. 3, although the translation is possible. Compare Kranichfeld, 9. 21; Hitzig, 81, and lately Prof. Siegfried—*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Jan. 10, 1891, where he takes exception to Düsterwald's translation 'third in rank' (Review of Düsterwald, *Die Weltreiche und das Gottesreich nach den Weissagungen des Propheten Daniels*, p. 63—cf. also Driver, *Introduction*, 460). Jerome remarked 'vel tertius post me, vel unus a tribus principibus quos alibi "τρίτος" legimus.' LXX. Ἐξουσία τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῆς βασιλείας. Θ. Τρίτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἄρξει. (Cf. Josephus *Antiquities*, x. 11. 3.) The Syriac has 'w'thûl'thâ nešlât.' The old idea was that Daniel was to be second Vizier, the first Vizier being called the 'second' after the king. (Cf. Esther x. 3.—Hävernicks, 185; Lengerke, 251; Bertholdt, 374). Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, p. 121, thought that it probably meant after Nabonidus and the queen-mother.

Verse 10. Note 1.—The queen here must mean either the chief wife or the mother of the king. It has been stated, however, in verses 2 and 3 that the wives of the king were already present and this fact and the tone of command, which the author gives his “queen” in this passage seems to show that he considered her not the wife, but the mother of Belshazzar. That the queen-mother was meant was the opinion of the majority of the older commentators. Compare Lengerke, 252; Kranichfeld, 221; Hävernicks, 191; Hengstenberg, 47. 318, etc. Note however that J. D. Michaelis, Daniel, p. 47 and Bertholdt believed that the wife of the king was meant. Josephus, Antiquities x, 11. 2, thought that it was the king’s grandmother, etc., etc.

The queen-dowager was a powerful and important personage in ancient times. (See I Kings xv. 13, II Chron. xv. 16.) As at present, she ruled during the minority of the king and probably always had an advisory voice in the management of the government. In modern Turkey, as was the case in ancient Egypt, the queen-mother is a weighty factor in political affairs. Among the Hebrews the queen-dowager ranked after the king but before his wives. (See II Kings xxiv. 15.)

In the Assyrian letters the king’s greeting to the queen-mother is of the most respectful character. Thus, in the letter translated by Delitzsch, Beiträge zur Assyriologie, i. 187–188, we find ‘abit šarri ana ummi šarri šulmu âši, šulmu ana ummi šarri’—word of the king to the queen-mother, my greeting. greeting to the queen-mother.’

When the king greets a subject he uses the words ‘libbaka lu tâbka —‘make glad thy heart,’ but in the message to the queen-mother such an address would be disrespectful. In spite of the honor accorded by the king to his mother, it is interesting to notice that he never calls her ‘his Lady,’ a fact to which Delitzsch has called attention (l. c.) as, indicating the evident supremacy of the king. From the tone of the above mentioned letter the king was ready to carry out his mother’s behests, but her commands must first have the royal sanction. For other references in the cuneiform inscriptions to the queen-dowager, cf. Delitzsch, op. cit. 189. 192.

Note 2. — מְלִי. Everything was in confusion, see verse 9. — מִשְׁתַּבֵּשׁ—and the queen entered the hall to see what the trouble was.

Hitzig’s translation (Daniel, p. 81) is correct; ‘Aus Anlass der Reden.’ Compare the Greek version, κατέναντι τῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ. (See Field, Hexapla). Theodotion omits the ‘words altogether. The Vulgate has, ‘pro re quae acciderat regi et optimatibus ejus.’ LXX. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὴν βασίλισσαν περὶ τοῦ σημείου.

Note 3.— מַלְכָּא לְעַלְמִין חַיִּי is the regular salutation to the king, as in chapter ii. 4; iii. 9; vi. 7. 22; Neh. ii. 3; I Kings i. 31. This greeting was common also in Babylonian times; see Delitzsch, Bei-

träge, i. 239; 'May Nebo and Merodach give long days and everlasting years unto the king of the lands my lord,' and also op. cit. 242. In this connection Kaulen, *Assyrien und Babylonien*, 262, should be read.

Verse 11. Note 1.—Compare chapter ii. 48. It is not historically probable that a Jewish prophet could have occupied such a position; first, because it is difficult to see how a strict Jew could conscientiously hold this post, and secondly, because the magicians, probably being an hereditary order (see n. 1. to v. 7.), would have resented an outsider being set over them. (See Lenormant, *Magie*, Germ. ed., chapter 6, 563).

Note 2.—The repetition of the words 'thy father' at the end of the verse is not necessarily an anacolouthon (Kautsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aram.*, p. 163), but simply for emphasis. The great king did it himself. The Vulgate has 'et rex N. pater tuus principem majorum . . . pater inquam tuus.' (I find that the well known commentator, Moses Stuart, sometime Theological Professor at Andover, was also of this opinion; see his 'Daniel,' Boston, 1850, on this verse.)

Verse 12. Note 1.—It does not seem to have been uncommon for kings to change the names of their vassals. Compare II Kings, xxiv. 17, where the name of Mattaniah, the uncle of Jeconiah, is changed by Nebuchadnezzar to Zedekiah, and II Kings xxiii. 34, where Necho, king of Egypt, changed the name of Eliakim, brother of Jehoahaz, to Jehoiakim. Jehoiakin, son of Jehoiakim, was also called Jeconiah (I Chron. iii. 16) and Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24).

In Assyrian we may compare the case of Tiglath-pileser III. (745–727 B. C.), who reigned in Nineveh as Tiglath-pileser, (Tukulti-palešarra) and in Babylon under the name Pulu; i. e. the biblical Pul. Shalmaneser the fourth (727–722 B. C.), was called in Babylon Ulula'a (Ilulaios), but in Assyrian Shalmaneser (Šulmānu-ašarid).

Verse 13. Note 1.—Reflectively and not necessarily a question with the interrogative  $\eta$  dropped to avoid hiatus. (So Kautsch, op. cit.). If the translation given above be adopted, there is certainly no contradiction between this verse and the statement in chapter viii. 27, that Daniel had already been in the service of Belshazzar. The king does not say 'art thou Daniel?' as if he had never before heard the name, (Lengerke, *Daniel*, 254), but remarks reflectively 'so thou art Daniel.' The author certainly did not intend to represent in this address any latent scorn at Daniel's Jewish origin, according to Calvin's strange idea (followed by Hävernick, *Dan.*, 194).

Note 2.—The relative pronoun refers to the exiles and not to Daniel directly as the Vulgate has it. Theodotion has correctly *ἡς ἡγάγεν*.

Verse 15. Note 1.—Simple asyndeton, cf. chapter i. 20; ii. 27. 45. The Syriac version inserts the copula. Hävernick, *Dan.* 194, and Bertholdt, *Dan.* 380, following Theodotion, supposed that the other classes of magicians had been omitted. Theodotion has *Σοφοὶ Μάγοι, Γαζαρηνοὶ*.

Verse 17. Note 1.—Daniel's refusal to accept the promised reward is a sign of his religious exclusiveness. He is unwilling to take gifts for using the power which God has given him. As to his final acceptance of the offer, see note to v. 29.

Note 2.—The author gives the prophet time to examine and read the writing during the speech of the king. Compare the LXX.: τότε Δανιὴλ ἔσθη κατέναντι τῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ οὕτως ἀπεκρίθη, etc.

Verse 18. Note 1.—'O King'—really 'Thou O King'—a nominative absolute as in chapter ii. 29.

Note 2.—Notice the contrast so strongly emphasized in these verses 18-20, between the great Nebuchadnezzar, and his insignificant successor. The point is, that if Nebuchadnezzar, the great king, suffered such punishment for his pride from the Most High, how much more then Belshazzar who has deliberately insulted the God of the Heavens by the profane use of His sacred vessels.

Verse 21. Note 1.—The usual translation is 'wild asses.' Theodotion has τῶν ὀνύκων, translating the Aramæan word ערריא.

It seems preferable however to read here ערריא—herds, a suggestion which was advanced by Prof. Haupt in his lectures and which is mentioned by J. D. Michaelis, Daniel, p. 51, as being the reading of an old codex. The reading 'wild asses' certainly makes no sense, as no mortal man could take up his abode with these swiftest denizens of the desert.

Note 2.—For this legend regarding Nebuchadnezzar see Daniel iv. 25-34. Eusebius gives an account which bears some slight resemblance to the Biblical story. Eusebius took his version of the tale from the writings of Abydenus who mentioned Megasthenes as his source. The latter was said to have had the account direct from the Chaldæans. According to this version, Nebuchadnezzar prophesies the downfall of Babylon and invokes on his enemies the very fate which according to the book of Daniel he suffered himself. Compare Eusebius, *Evang. Praeparationis Liber 9. 41. 6*, ed. Gaisford, and the shorter account of the same in the *Chronicorum Libri duo*, Schöne I. 41, 42, cited Schrader, *Jahrbuch für Protestantische Theologie*, vii. 628—'Wahnsinn Nebuchadnezzar's.'

The theory of v. Lengerke, Dan. 151 and Hitzig, Dan. 57, seems hardly tenable, that the account of Abydenus was a later fabrication, taken partly from the prophecies in chapters ii.-iv, and partly from the story of the lycanthropy, chapter iv. and chapter v. The diametrically opposed character of the two accounts appears to preclude such a supposition. In the Bible the curse falls on Nebuchadnezzar, while in the secular version the king invokes it on his enemies. The connection between the two seems to lie in the fact that in both accounts it is a tale about Nebuchadnezzar and a curse. If, as Schrader thought, the two accounts are independent developments of one and the same Babylonian legend, one version has been sadly distorted.

Some have sought to find confirmation for the biblical account in the statement of Josephus, c. Ap. I. 20, that Nebuchadnezzar, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀβήρωσιν, departed this life, their idea being, that unless the illness had been something peculiarly remarkable, such as the biblical 'insania zoanthropica,' it would not have been mentioned(?). It appears impossible, however, with our present data to make any definite statement with regard to the historical accuracy of the biblical account of Nebuchadnezzar's lycanthropy.

Verse 23. Note 1.—Compare Psalm cxxxv. 16, 17. 'They have mouths but they speak not, eyes have they, but they see not. They have ears but they hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths.' Also Psalm cxv. 4 ff.

Note 2.—Cf. Jeremiah x. 23, **לֹא לְאָדָם דִּרְכּוֹ**.

Verse 24. Note 1.—Theodotion δὲ τοῦτο and Vulgate 'idcirco' are not quite exact. It is 'then' not 'therefore.' (Cf. the more suitable Syriac 'hā'dên.')

Verse 25.—Note 1.—The mina alludes to Nebuchadnezzar, the shekel, one sixtieth as valuable, points to the insignificant Belshazzar, while the two half-minas refer to the double nation the Medes and Persians, who are to destroy the power of Nebuchadnezzar. See above, chapter first, for full discussion. Both the Greek and Latin versions in the reproduction of the mysterious sentence in v. 25 read only the three words 'mane,' 'thekel,' 'peres,' omitting one **מְנָה**, and disregarding both the conjunction ו and the plural form of **פָּרַס**. This reading may have been due to the influence of vs. 26, 27, 28 where only a single **מְנָה**, and the singular form **פָּרַס** are mentioned with **תִּקֵּל**, as strictly necessary to the interpretation. The Syriac version alone has kept the received text, 'mānê m'nâ th'qēl w' pharsîn.'

It is interesting to notice that one version of the LXX. in disagreement in this point with the version of Theodotion, has transferred the words to v. 5 (q. v.) and changes their order, reading *Μανή, Φάρες, Θεκέλ*. It seems possible that the copyist of the original manuscript, from which this translation was made, understood the real meaning of the words as names of weights and without seeing their special application to this passage, felt the necessity of a regularly decreasing enumeration. (Cf. in this connection Hebraica iii. No. 2, 36. note 1. (Ganneau)). The LXX., however, translates the three words by *ἡριθμεται, ἐξήρηται, ἵσταται*; 'numbered, taken away, weighed.'

Verse 28. Ancient history establishes the closest connection between the Medes and Persians. (For the history of the Medes proper see above, ch. ii.) The Greeks frequently applied the common term Medes indifferently to either nation. Thus, the conflicts with Darius and his successors were called either τὰ Μηδικὰ or τὰ Περσικὰ, while the Persian Great King who ruled in Susa was addressed as the 'King of the Medes.' (Cf. in connection with this, Rawlinson, Five Great Monarchies, 2. 306, note 1, and Delattre, Medes, p. 5.) The Jews also



as is well known, regarded the Medes and Persians as two peoples closely allied in law and customs. (Cf. Dan. vi. 8. 12. 15; viii. 20; Esther i. 3—reference to the power of Persia and Media; i. 14—Princes of Persia and Media (see also i. 18); x. 2—allusion to the book of the chronicles of Media and Persia.) Previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, no one thought of doubting that the Medes as well as the Persians belonged to the Aryan race. Herodotus, 7. 62, remarked ἐκαλέοντο πάσαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοι, and adds that when Medea of Colchis came to them from Athens they changed their name to Medes. It is also especially stated by Strabo xv. 2. 8, that both Medes and Persians used practically the same language. (ἐισὶ γὰρ πῶς καὶ ὁμόηλοτοι παρὰ μικρὸν.) We may compare Rawlinson, l. c., and also Strabo, xv. 11. 14, where the same assertion is ascribed to Nearkos, one of the officers of Alexander. (See for further examples Weisbach, Achämeniden Inschriften zweiter Art., p. 21.)

Of late years, however, serious doubt has been cast on the Aryan origin of the Medes by a number of scholars. Because in the trilingual inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings, between the original Persian and the Babylonian translation, another idiom appears, taking precedence over the Babylonian, certain scholars have believed this to be the language of Media. (So Oppert, Medes, p. 2. For a synopsis and discussion of the various opinions on this subject see Delattre, op. cit., pp. 7 ff. and p. 16.) This dialect of the second sort which was given such a prominent place in the royal inscriptions must be, it was thought, the idiom of the most important subject people of the Persian Empire, the Babylonian being necessarily excluded. They decided accordingly that it could only be the language of the Medes. Then, when an examination brought to light that it was neither a Semitic nor an Aryan idiom, they concluded that the Medes must have been a "Turanian" people. The principle on which such a supposition rested is, that the choice and disposition of language in the Achaemenian texts depended on the relative importance of the peoples who made up the Persian Empire.

Although it would certainly be natural that the Persian kings should in their trilingual documents give the idiom of the most important subject state the precedence, it still does not necessarily follow that the second language in these inscriptions is that of Media. It cannot of course be denied that the Medes enjoyed a special prominence in the empire. The place which they occupied in the inscriptions next to the Persians, and the fact that Medes are found in the most important and responsible positions seem to point to such a conclusion. (Cf. Herodotus, I. 156-157, Mazares, a Mede, quelled the revolt of Sardis against Cyrus.—I. 162-176, Harpagus, a Mede, carried on the war; cf. also Delattre, op. cit. p. 17, note 3). Part of their powerful influence may have been due to the sacerdotal caste of the Magi who were probably originally of Median origin. (So Delattre, p.

17 and p. 55). The very fact that the name Mede survived so long as almost a synonym for Persian, certainly seems to show that the individuality of the older people was extremely prominent throughout a long period of the Persian history. Delattre's remark (op. cit. p. 18) that these considerations are somewhat weakened by the statement of the *Annals* 2. 1-4 that Cyrus plundered Ecbatana the Median capital, like an enemy's city, has no special force. Because the Medes by their superior civilization eventually exercised a strong influence on the Persian people, it does not necessarily follow that Cyrus, probably the first Persian who came into close contact with Median culture, established directly such friendly relations with the conquered people as to abstain from plundering their capital, which had fallen to him by right of war.

The influences of this Median culture, however, probably began to be felt by the rougher Persians very shortly after their subjugation of the Medes. Indeed it seems very evident that those friendly relations between the two peoples which lasted with but few interruptions until the Median name disappears from history were early founded.

While the strong influence of the Medes on the destinies of the Persian empire seems an established fact, the actual province or Media was still very probably not the most important in the empire. Media alone was not even a distinct province, but according to Herodotus, 3. 92, with two neighboring countries formed a single satrapy, paying annual tribute.

It is contrary to the consensus of the ancient authors, as shown above, to regard the Medes as anything but Aryans and closely allied to the Persians. The statement of Strabo that both Medes and Persians used nearly the same language is confirmed by an examination of the extant Median proper names, nearly all of which are of marked Aryan character. We may compare Rawlinson, Herodotus 3. 444-455 (2d ed.) and the remarks of Eduard Meyer on the list of names of the Median chiefs of Sargon's time given in Delitzsch, *Kossaeans*, p. 48.—See also *Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie* (Ernst Kuhn), ii. p. 51. From the nature of these names Meyer concludes quite rightly that the rulers of Media at the end of the eighth century B. C. were of Aryan race. (See also Weisbach, op. cit., p. 19.)

With regard to the opinion that the Medes were made up of two elements, "Aryan" and "Turanian," I cannot do better than paraphrase as follows the remarks of Weisbach (op. cit., pp. 21 ff.). According to him if this theory be accepted, four possibilities present themselves with regard to the language of the Medes.

- A. All Medes spoke Aryan.
- B. All Medes spoke an Aryan-Turanian mixed language.
- C. All Medes spoke Turanian.
- D. The Aryan Medes spoke Aryan, the "Turanians" spoke "Turanian."

In answer to the first two suppositions, it may be stated, that the language of the inscriptions of the second sort is clearly neither Aryan nor a mixed idiom, for example, like modern Turkish, while the theory that all Medes spoke "Turanian" is made untenable by the statements, referred to above, of the ancient authors who evidently regarded the Median language as Aryan. The fact, too, that the Medes played such an important part in Persian history, and were for such a long time so closely and prominently connected with the latter people, could hardly have been the case had they been a totally distinct "Turanian" race. In the latter instance, while considerable influence might have been exercised by an entirely alien people, such a complete association and identification of interests as appear between the Medes and Persians could hardly have been expected. The tie of a common language must have been present to establish such a close union. As to the last idea, that part of the Medes spoke Aryan and part "Turanian," even if this were so, we would have no right to call the language of the "Turanian" Medes, "Median," as this term was applied by custom to an Aryan speech. To do so, would be start a confusion of names similar to that suggested by Weisbach (p. 22). He asserts quite rightly, that to call a "Turanian" language "Median" would be an error like calling the language of the Germans resident in Bohemia, "Bohemian," a term which is only applied to the idiom of the Czechs; the true Bohemians. In addition to this, however, there is no reason for supposing that the language of the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort is that of "Turanian" Medes at all.

If, as seems necessary, the Medes must be regarded as entirely Aryans, to what people then are the non-Aryan non-Semitic Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort to be ascribed? Here M. Delattre seems to have found the key to the solution of the problem.

He advances the theory that, because according to Oppert and Sayce the so-called "Median" of the Achaemenian inscriptions has affinity with the Elamitic or Susian language, the people who used the doubtful idiom of the Persian documents were of Elamitic race. As a number of Persian loan-words (see Lenormant *Lettres Assyriennes*, t. 1. 18-19, Delattre, *op. cit.* 43) are found in the Achaemenian dialect, he further concluded that the people who spoke it must have been for some time closely connected with Persian influences. The fulfillment of both these conditions he finds in the natives of Anšan, the hereditary state of Cyrus; i. e. he believes that the second Achaemenian language was the Elamitic dialect of Anšan, a theory which certainly deserves consideration, in that the language of Anšan, as the vernacular of the nucleus of the Persian empire, might have ranked directly after Persian and taken the precedence of Babylonian. (For Anšan and its older language see Weisbach, *Die Anzanischen Inschriften*, 1891).

As our knowledge of the language of Old Elam, however, does not yet permit a translation of the cuneiform inscriptions in that tongue, it

seems impossible at present to make any definite statement concerning Elamitic dialects. Then, too, the fact that the Achaemenian second language and the Elamitic are quite distinct though evidently allied languages heightens the difficulty. In this connection, however, the great difference in time between the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort and the ancient documents of Susiana or Elam must not be forgotten. Sayce has found that the inscriptions of Old Elam are to be divided into two groups—the one written in characters closely allied to the Old Babylonian, while the second kind, the inscriptions of Mal-Amîr present a later form which is closely akin to that of the Achaemenian records of the second sort. According to Weisbach (*Achäm. Inschr. zweiter Art.*, p. 24), it is possible to demonstrate by a number of examples that this form of the Achaemenian inscriptions, originally derived from the Babylonian characters, is a later development from the form found on the monuments of Mal-Amîr. Weisbach refers in this connection to the list of characters given by Sayce in the *Transactions of the Sixth International Oriental Congress*.

All that can be asserted at present seems to be that the three great languages of the Persian empire were Persian, the idiom of the second sort, and Babylonian. The second language may be a later form of the old Elamitic or Susian, containing a number of Aryan loan-words obtained through long intercourse with Aryan races; i. e. the Medes and Persians. This is practically the opinion of Weisbach (*op. cit.* 24) who calls the doubtful Achaemenian dialect "New Susian" and remarks that this idea agrees excellently with the order in which we find the three idioms in the documents of the Persian Kings,—first, language of Persia; second, that of Susa or Elam, and third, that of Babylonia. As soon as it appears evident that the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort need not necessarily be in the language of the Medes, the Aryan race of the latter, in view of the reasons mentioned above, should not be called in question.

In the twenty-eighth verse of the fifth chapter of Daniel the paronomasia on 'Persian' may perhaps indicate that the author was not unaware of the dominant position of that people. The idea advanced by v. Lengerke that he used a play of words on Persian, because he could not pun on the word Mede, is untenable, because a derivative of the stem **מדד**, to measure, such as **מדה** would have answered the purpose admirably (see Kranichfeld, *Daniel*, 227). With regard to the question of the precedence accorded by the biblical writer to the older people, it is interesting to notice that the earlier references use the term Medes for both nations. Thus, in Isaiah xiii. 17, in prophesying the doom of Babylon it is stated, 'behold I will stir up the Medes against them,' etc., and in Jeremiah li. 11, referring to the same subject, 'the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes.' Throughout the entire book of Daniel, wherever both nations are mentioned, the Medes have the first place, while in the book of Esther,

Persia is put before Media, except in chapter x. 2, where an allusion is made to the book of the chronicles of Media and Persia,—perhaps an old record.

The explanation of the gradual decadence of the Median name seems to be, that as the Medes in the course of time amalgamated and became practically identical with their Persian kinsmen, the name Persian came to be used in place of Mede. In fact the latter name seems to have completely disappeared under the Sassanidae (see Delattre, *op. cit.* 31). It was perfectly natural that two closely allied peoples speaking practically the same language and probably intermixing, should end by becoming one, and that the name of the dominant race should prevail.

Verse 29. Note 1.—It is not clear from the text of this verse whether the author meant to convey that the promised honors were really conferred on Daniel or not, nor is the question of sufficient importance to merit the discussion given to it by some commentators. (Cf. Havernick, *Dan.* 201, v. Lengerke, 241. 265. etc.) It is possible to translate, ‘Belshazzar gave orders and they clothed Daniel, etc.,’ which would mean that the reward was conferred immediately, or, ‘Belshazzar gave orders to clothe Daniel,’ which does not necessarily imply that the commands were carried out, but that the death of the king may have prevented the fulfillment of the promise. In view of the frequent co-ordination of sentences in cases where the subordinate character of one clause is apparent, the latter translation seems preferable. (See Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 102.) The idea that the rewards were conferred directly was held by Jerome, who remarked: ‘non mirum si B. audiens tristia solverit præmium quod pollicitus est. Aut enim longo post tempore credidit ventura quæ dixerit, aut, dum Dei prophetam honorat, sperat se veniam consecuturum.’ (Cf. also Zöckler, *Daniel*, 119.)

#### ADDITIONAL LINGUISTIC NOTES TO DANIEL V.

Verse 1. a) Belshazzar = Babylonian, Bêl-šar-uṣur, ‘Bel preserve the King.’ Compare among others, Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ed. 2, p. 433, and Fried. Delitzsch, in Baer and Delitzsch, *Daniel, Ezra and Neh.* præf., p. x. Similar names are Marduk-šar-uṣur, Nergal-šar-uṣur, Sin-šar-uṣur, etc. (for the latter, see *Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, ii. p. 101).

Previous to the discovery of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions, most commentators identified it with Belteshazzar, an error which dates from ancient times, as the Greek translators of the Old Testament evidently regarded the two names as the same, representing both by the form Βαλζάσαρ.

J. D. Michaelis defended the reading בלִאֲשַׁזַּר (found *Daniel* vii. 1 and viii. 1). Hitzig regarded this form as evidence that the ‘אֲשַׁזַּ’ was an abbreviation of the relative ‘אֲשַׁזַּר.’ Among the Jewish

authorities Sa'adia derived the name from **אָצַר**—to search and **אָצֵר**, because the king had to search for the vessels in the **אָצֵר**!

For various obsolete opinions as to the derivation of the name see Hävernicks, p. 172; v. Lengerke, p. 242; Kranichfeld, p. 65, etc., etc.

The name Sheshbazzar, of the Persian Commissioner, or, according to some, of Zerubbabel, found in Ezra i. 8, may be a formation like Bêl-šar-uṣur. A number of variants of the name Sheshbazzar occur in the Greek versions, i. e. in the translation of Ezra. *Σασσαβασσαρ*, *Σαβασαρης*, *Σαβασασσαρ*, *Σαβαβασσαρος*; in first Esdras; *Σαβαβασσαρ* *Σαμνασασσαρ*, and in Josephus *Ἀβασσαρ*. The ending—*ασσαρ*, common to all, would seem to indicate that it is a name ending in -uṣur. (In the form *Σαβασαρης*,—the *-ης* is clearly the Greek termination). Sheshbazzar may be regarded therefore, either as a corruption of Šamaš-šum-uṣur, 'Šamaš protect the name,' or, as Cheyne has suggested, for Šamaš-pal-uṣur, 'Šamaš protect the son' (see Academy, No. 1031, p. 138, commenting on Van Hoonacker's idea that it is for Šamaš-bil-uṣur, 'Šamaš protect the Lord'—in Academy, No. 1030, p. 114).

I am inclined to favor Cheyne's ingenious interpretation, as it would not only be perfectly possible for the *l* of 'pal' to disappear before the following sibilant, but the name would be more in conformity with Babylonian usage, than any of the other suggestions.

b) **עֲשֵׂה מִשְׁתָּה** cf. **עֲבַר לַחֵם** Eccles. x. 19; Gen. xxi. 8.

c) **רַכְרַכְנָן**: really a double plural; i. e. with reduplication and the ending -ân. The word is common in the Targums, where it occurs in the forms, **רַכְרַכְנָא** and **רַכְרַכְנָא**. For examples, see Levy, Chaldaeisches Wörterbuch, and cf. Syriac, *rāwrvāne*, *rāwrvānāy*, etc., Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar, § 146. For a list of nouns in Syriac forming their plural in -ân, see op. cit. § 74. As Nöldeke remarked (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1884, p. 1020), Kautzsch might, in his Grammatik des Biblisch-Aram., p. 110 and 114, have stated a little more explicitly that the double formations **רַכְרַכְנָן**, **רַכְרַכְנָן**, etc., cannot occur in the singular, any more than the simple form **רַכְרַכְנָן** can form a plural, (with the exception of course, of a few special cases).

d) **קִבֵּל** = before, in front of, from **קָבַל**, receive, Arabic **قَبَلَ**. An exactly equivalent expression is the Assyrian 'ina maxru' = before, in the presence of, from 'maxâru,' to be in front of, go to meet; then, to meet as an enemy; hence 'tamxaru,' battle, and 'mâxiru,' rival. 'Max-âru' means also, to hasten; hence 'mitxariš,' swiftly. See Delitzsch, Assyrische Studien, pp. 124–125, for the development of these words.

Verse 2. a) **בְּטַעַם חֲמֵרָא**—'at the command of the wine,' not, 'when the wine began to taste' as is usually translated. See Hävernicks, Dan. 174; Kranichfeld, Dan. 214; Hitzig, Dan. 79, etc. Both R. Salomo and Ibn Ezra understood this passage correctly, translating 'at the bidding of the wine,' cf. Hävernicks, Dan. 175. The LXX. has *Ἐντονωμένως ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου*. Theodotion, *ἐν τῇ γείσει τοῦ οἴνου*. Vulgate, *jam temulentus*.

Aram. טַעַם and Assyrian 'tēmu' mean both 'understanding' and 'command.' For the former meaning for טַעַם, see Dan. ii. 3; שׁוּם טַעַם 'to consider;' also Dan. iii. 12; iv. 14. For the signification 'command;' see Ezra iv. 8, 9, 17. בַּעַל טַעַם—'commander;' also Dan. iii. 10, etc.

Assyrian 'tēmu' occurs in the meaning 'understanding,' I R. Šamširamman; II. 18, where we find amēlu tēma, 'a man of understanding;' IV R. 57; col. III. 33, ušanna tēnki, I will change thy understanding; i. e. 'make thee mad,' and Asb. c. 8, 6, tēnšu ušannima, 'he smote him with insanity.' For this translation and the form 'tēnšu' for 'tēmšu,' see Haupt, Watch-Ben-Hazael, Hebraica, i., pp. 219-220. 'tēmu' means 'command, demand;' IV R. 54. n. 1. 2 etlu ina tēmišu 'the husband with his demand;' I R. 46; col. III 57. kī tēm ramānišu, 'of his own accord.'

b) לִמְאֵנִי. For the Aramaean and later Hebrew use of לִ, to denote the Accusative (Kautzsch., p. 127), the exactly equivalent usage of 'ana' = to, for, in later Assyrian may be compared. For full references see Bezold, Achämeniden Inschriften, p. 49. n. 3.

c) שְׁגֵל, 'the legitimate wife,'—see Ps. xlv. 10, used in Neh. ii. 6, of the queen. According to Bar Ali (cf. Payne Smith, Thesaurus, p. 542, top, under bēlāthī. Venus) the star Venus was called by the Babylonians šēgāl wādilbat. שְׁגֵל was evidently a synonym, therefore, of bēlāthī, bēltu, Lady, a name of Ištar.

Hesychius also gives the form Δελέφατ, (i. e. Dilbat), as the Babylonian name of Ištar-Venus as the morning star. (See Lehmann, Samaššumu-kīn, p. 125.) Dilbat seems to mean 'the announcer,' i. e. of morning or evening. See II R. 7, 37, g. h.; dilbat = nabū, 'to tell, announce.' In II R. 48. 51, the star Dilbat is mentioned in the same paragraph with Sin (the moon) and Sāmaš (the sun). For the goddess Ištar in her double capacity of morning and evening star, see Delitzsch-Mürdter, Geschichte, p. 29, and for the name of the place Dilbat cf. Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies, p. 119.

Verse 5. a) נִפְקוּ—Vulgate, 'apparuerunt.' The q'rê נִפְקָה is unnecessary, nor is there any need of reading נִפְקָן fem. pl., according to an old codex. (118. K. cf. Bertholdt, Daniel, 368. n. 5). The Semitic construction does not require that the verb and subject should agree. As to the possible survival of a feminine pl. in Hebrew, see J. P. Peters, Hebraica, iii., no. 2. 111. That ū and ā were respectively the masculine and feminine third person pl. endings of the perfect is quite probable, if the existence of a perfect in primitive Semitic be granted. More than this it is very difficult to assert. We may compare in this connection the remarks of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Hebraica, iii., n. 4, 268.

b) נִבְרִישְׁתָּא, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. Derivation uncertain. Syriac nevrāštā—flame, lantern, from which the Denominative ethnevrāš, illuminate; Arabic, nibras. The Jerusalem Gemara translates it by



למפרים, using the Greek word. According to Ibn Ezra, נְכִישְׁתָּא is the synonym of מְנוֹרָה, used of the great branching candlestick of the Tabernacle. (See Buxtorf, Lexicon, col. 1290 and Exod. xxv. 31 ff.; I Kings vii. 49, etc.) The Targum to Zephaniah i. 12, translates נֵר by נְכִישְׁתָּא.

In this passage of Daniel v. the Syriac version has š'rāgā. Vulgate. contra candelabrum. Theodotion, κατέναντι τῆς λαμπάδος. Vers. Mass. ενῶπιον τοῦ λαμπήρος, and in the LXX. κατέναντι τοῦ φωτός.

All authorities seem agreed that the word is of foreign origin. Cf. Bickell, Ephr. Carm. Nisib. 53, where a derivation from the Sanskrit ni + bhṛag, illuminate, is suggested. This is as unsatisfactory as the attempt of Bernstein (Lexicon) to derive it from נָבַר, shine, and אֶשְׁתָּא, fire, or that of Sa'adia from נֶר-כֶּרֶשְׁתָּא—light that shines through all the year. See Buxtorf, Lex. col. 1290.

A Persian derivation (Fränkel, Fremdwörter, p. 96) is hardly admissible, because the original Persian word has yet to be found. (See also Guidi, Osservazione, p. 3.) That the Arabic form 'nibras' belongs to the older language is seen from Nāb. 27. 21; Jākūt. iv. 737. 7. No satisfactory etymology seems possible at present.

c) גִּירָא—'plaster, lime'; cf. Buxtorf, Lexicon, col. 425, for the Rabbinical definition. גִּיר מִין קִרְקַע הַמִּשְׁחִיר, species terra denigrantis. The word is probably cognate with Assyrian, qîru, 'pitch, mortar.' (Cf. Haupt, Nimrod Epos, 137, l. 66,—(the Deluge—) attabak ana qîri,—'I poured out for caulking,' or 'pitching.' The ideogram which is found in this passage with variant 'ki-i-ri' is explained in the syllabary S<sup>b</sup> 94. There is probably some connection with the Arabic قِيرٌ, pitch, according to the theory of Professor Haupt in Schrader's Keilinschriften und das alte Testament,<sup>2</sup> p. 516, in spite of Jensen's doubt the meaning of the word (Kosmologie, p. 410). Lagarde connects it with Turkish, kil, 'fuller's earth'(?).

d) כְּתִלָּא, 'wall; status emphat. כְּתִלָּא, —see Ezra v. 8. We may compare Kautzsch, op. cit. § 54 e. and Assyrian 'kutallu' = 'side.' (Senn. VI. 28; I R. 44. 55; IV R. 52. 20; II R. 48. 50).

e) פֶּס הַיָּדָא, 'the end of the arm;' i. e. the hand, the fingers and knuckles in distinction to the arm. Theod. τοὺς ὑστிரυγᾶλους τῆς χειρὸς. Vulgate, articulos manus. Sa'adia on verse 24, הַכַּף עִם הָאֵצְבָּעוֹת, פֶּס may be used of the surface of the hand or foot alike—cf. Mishna, פֶּס הַיָּד and פֶּס הָרֶגֶל and Syriac, p'sath reglā, p'sath idē. See Syr. I K. xviii. 44; and Deut. xxviii. 35.

Verse 6. a) זִיּוּרְהִי, 'his countenance,' זִיּוּ, 'face,' 'complexion,' 'hue.' Theodotion and the Vulgate both translate by 'figure.' The word is not from the Persian, (Nöldeke, Mand. Gr. XXXI.), but is cognate with Assyrian zimû, 'face;' cf. Jensen, Ztschr. für Keilschriftforschung, II. 43. 2; Zimmern, Busspsalmen, p. 108 and Delitzsch, Pro-



legomena, p. 153. zimû is explained in Assyrian by sak-ki, 'surface of the head' (V R. 31. 14 c). For the interchange of *m* and *n*, cf. Ztschr. für Assyriologie, ii. 273, 267, Haupt.

b) שְׁנוּהִי. The termination has the force of a dative, as already Kranichfeld saw (Daniel, p. 217). Moses Stuart, in his Commentary on Daniel, p. 130, probably followed Kranichfeld in this opinion. It is not the use of the suffix to express the pronominal ending and the preposition, as Kautzsch thought, (Aram. Gr. § 89. 2, as in v. 9 עֲלוּהִי), nor is it reflexive (Lengerke, Daniel, p. 248). The use of the suffix to express the dative relation occurs possibly in Assyrian in such a connection as Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, 80. 18. ina isinni šaknuš, at the feast made for him; probably also op. cit. 80. 14. Adar šarru mârû ša abašu ana rûqêtim appa ušalbinušu—'Adar the king, the son, before whom his father makes them worship far and wide.' It is difficult to know if the suffix has a real dative force in cases like, amâtum ubakki, IV R. 30. 7, 'I made the word come to thee;' ina bîti â êrubšu, Akkad. Sum. Keilschrifttexte, 93, 21, 'may it not come into the house to him;' op. cit. 81. 14. lummidu, 'may I erect to him,' etc.

Verse 7. a) פִּשְׂרָה. Cf. Assyrian 'pašâru'—'to loosen, free;' IV R. 56. 23; I R. 50. 18. Arabic فَسَّرَ. We find also the expression, šuttu pašâru 'to interpret a dream' in Akkad., Sum. Keilschrifttexte, 205; šunata pašâru, Haupt, Nim. Ep., 6. 44., etc. We should compare also פִּשְׂרִי Eccles. viii. 1. The Hebrew form פִּתְרוֹן, 'interpretation,' must be a loan-word from some dialect where the שֵׁ was lisped as a ת; cf. Haupt, Beiträge zur Assyriologie, i. 181, n. 2.

b) אֲרָגוֹנָא, Assyrian, 'argamannu' Ašurn. 1. 88; c. III. 68.; the darker purple scarlet as opposed to 'takiltu,' תִּכְלֶת, the lighter purple red. Compare in this connection, Zehupfund in the Beiträge, i. 507. on the different sorts of purple.

c) הַמְּנִיכָא, var. מְנוּכָא, may be the same word as the Greek *μανιάκης* to which Polybius, II. 31, refers as a Gallic ornament: *τοῦτο δεστί χρυσοῦν ψέλλων ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται*. Theodotion's translation has here ὁ *μανιάκης* ὁ *χρυσοῦς*.

d) תִּלְתִּי (in vv. 16, 29 תִּלְתָּא). The ordinary form of the Aramaean numeral is תְּלִיתִי, cf. Daniel ii. 39. Hitzig (Daniel, 81) read here תִּלְתִּי in order to connect it with תִּלְתָּא, but the form תִּלְתִּי can be an adjectival formation meaning the third, like the Hebrew שְׁלִישִׁי = 'a third part,' Num. xv. 6; Ezek. v. 12. תִּלְתָּא would then have to be considered as an abnormal st. emphat. of an absolute תְּלִיתִי (Kautzsch, op. cit. p. 121). Bevan's idea is that תִּלְתָּא may be the Aramaic equivalent of the Arabic 'ath-thilth' = "every third day," and that תְּלִיתִי in this verse may be an error due to a scribe who, not understanding תִּלְתָּא, read תִּלְתִּי = third (see his Com-

mentary, p. 102). Such a view seems highly improbable, as it would imply the interpretation that the reader of the mysterious writing should reign over the kingdom on alternate days with the king himself!

Verse 9. a) **מִשְׁתַּבְּשִׁין**—Cf. Assyrian 'šabasu,' rage; Asurb. c. IV. 88. c. VI. 108. and the substantive 'šibsu,' Ašurn. II. 106.

Verse 11. a) **אֵתִי**—'There is.' Before suffixes it often occurs in the form **אֵתִי**; see Kautzsch, op. cit. p. 125. It was originally a substantive of the stem **יֵת**, cognate with the Hebrew biconsonantal noun **יֵשׁ**, a formation like **בֵּן**, 'son,' **שֵׁם**, 'name,' and the Assyrian 'išu' **יֵשׁ**. The form **אֵתִי** with final **י** is a secondary development from the noun, with the addition of **י**. **אֵתִי** comes from an original 'yaty' (**יְתִי**), the construct state of which, **יְתִי**, was pronounced **אֵתִי** (**אֵתִי**) in Aramaean, initial **י** becoming as always **î**. The Syriac form 'îthyā' 'being'—**ܐܬܝܐ**, is probably a form with a denominal Nisbē, as for example in 'š'gûšyā.' The triradical stem ending in **י** is found in the Assyrian verb 'išû,' to have; **יֵשׁ**. In Assyrian the original short form 'išu,' mentioned above as corresponding to **יֵשׁ** and **אֵתִי**, occurs, for example, Nimrod Epic, 13. 3; 5. 37, etc. Similar biconsonantal forms are nouns like 'šaptu,' lip; 'daltu,' door; 'îlu,' God; 'binu,' son; 'bintu,' daughter, etc. The negative of Syriac 'îth' is 'lā'th' contracted from 'lā + îth.' A similar contraction is found in the well known Arabic **لَيْسَ** (the only form of this stem preserved in Arabic), and in Assyrian 'lāšu' = 'la' + 'išu.' See Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, I., p. 40, l. 25, where we find the form 'laššu'.

Verse 12. a) **מִשְׁרָא** and **מִפְּשָׁר**. It is simpler in agreement with Bertholdt, Daniel, p. 378, n. 15, and Kautzsch, op. cit., § 40, rem. 1, to read **מִפְּשָׁר** and **מִשְׁרָא**, infinitives, following the Vulgate; Quia spiritus amplior....et interpretatio somnorum et ostensio secretarum et solutio ligatorum inventae sunt in eo.' Baer and Delitzsch, however, read **מִפְּשָׁר** and **מִשְׁרָא** (Liber Dan. p. 11) as participles, cf. Theodotion, **ὅτι πνεῦμα πλείστον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνησις καὶ σύνεσις ἐν αὐτῷ συγκρίνων ἐνόπνια καὶ ἀναγγέλλων κρατούμενα καὶ λόγων συνδέσμους**. It should be noticed that if **מִפְּשָׁר** be read, this is the sole instance of the Pael of this stem in Biblical Aramaean. (See Kautzsch, op. cit., p. 65, rem. 1).

The original meaning of the stem **שָׂרָא**, to dwell, is 'to loosen.' We may compare also the Assyrian 'šarû,' see Zimmer, Busspsalmen, 99. In primitive Semitic the meaning must then have arisen, 'to cast bundles from the beasts of burden;' i. e. preparatory to encamping for the night, so that later the idea 'to dwell,' was developed. (Cf. Arabic **حَلَّ** loosen, and **مَكَالَة** and **مَكَال** = 'place of rest.') Derivatives of the Assyrian 'šarû,' to loosen or begin are 'šur-

ru,' 'beginning,' I R. Tig. I. 62, 'šurratu,' Asurn. I. 43, and 'tišritu,' the seventh month, the *beginner* of the second half of the year.

b) Belṭeshazzar. The author of Daniel evidently regarded the first syllable of this word as containing the name of the god 'Bêl' (cf. Dan. iv. 5; כִּשְׁם אֱלֹהֵי). It is now generally recognized that this name is a corruption of the Assyrian 'Balatsu-uṣur,' 'protect his life.' (Cf. Oppert, *Doc. Jur.*, p. 282; Schrader, *Die Assy.-Bab. Keilinschriften*, p. 152, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 429 and Fried. Delitzsch, *Liber Dan. Praef.* pp. ix.-x.) While it is true that we would rather expect to find 𐤁 instead of 𐤁 in the biblical form בִּלְטִישַׁאצַּר, representing an original *s* sound: i. e. 'Balatsu-uṣur,' it is possible that in Babylonian the form of the name may have been 'Balaṭa-šu-uṣur' with ṣ. In addition to this, it should not be forgotten that the name was probably strongly influenced by the similar sounding Belshazzar. (See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr. Germ. ed.*, p. 171.) Georg Hoffmann's reading, *Ztschr. für Assy.*, ii. 56, 'Balaṭ-šar-uṣur,' Balaṭ preserve the king' does not seem admissible. He sees in 'Balaṭ' the name of a god, Saturn, and compares 'Sanballaṭ,' which is clearly a corruption of 'Sin-uballit,' 'Sin (the moon-god) has made him live.' The Βολάθην of Phot. *Bibl. c.* 242, quoted by Hoffmann, is probably not 'Balaṭ.' The passage as he gives it is as follows: Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον ἤλ καὶ Βήλ καὶ Βολάθην ἐπωνομάζουσιν. The writer may have mistaken Βολάθην for the name of a male divinity.

Verse 17. a) לְהִי. For the Imperfect with 𐤀 preformative see Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Although a number of these Imperfect forms with 𐤀 preformative have an optative meaning, in some cases they show simply the force of a regular Imperfect, as in Daniel ii. 28, 29. It cannot be asserted, therefore, that there is any difference in meaning between the third pers. m. with 𐤀 preformative, or the same form with 𐤀 preformative.

In Mandaean, as in Syriac, the regular prefix of the third pers. masc. of the Imperfect is *n*, but sometimes *l*. It is highly probable that the *n* form is secondary, being a development of an original *l*, (see Haupt, *Beiträge i.* 17.), which, as is well known, occurs in Assyrian in a precativ signification. We may compare in this connection, Laurie, *Hebraica*, ii., No. 4. 249; "Remarks on an Assyrian Precative in Daniel."

In Mandaean, as in Aramaean, the two prefixes appear to have an equal force; so much so that in the former language the *l* sometimes occurs by mistake for the unchangeable *n* of the first person. See Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, § 166, and for examples in Mandaean of the Imperfect of the verb הוּא 'to be,' with 𐤀 preformative, see *op. cit.*, § 196.

Imperfect forms with *l* are also found in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud; see Luzzato, *Grammatik des Idioms des Thalmud Babli*, p. 84.

Verse 19. a) זָעִין, from זָעַע, to tremble. The same stem is seen in the Assyrian 'zu,' storm, bird of the storm; see Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 94.

b) קִרְמוֹהִי מִן רַחֲלִין—fearing before him—cf. Assyrian, 'lapân ešriti...aplxma.' I revered (before) the shrines, Ašurb. c. X. 78; also I R. 11. 14, etc.

c) צָבָה. We may compare Assyrian 'ḡibû,' to wish, I R. Sargon Barrel Cylinder, l. 42, from which the derivative 'teḡbîtu,' 'a wish'; also 'ḡibûtu,' 'desire'; see Jensen, *Ztschr. für Keilschriftforschung*, ii. 26/27.

d) מָחָה. Ptc. Haphel of חָיָה 'to live.' The older authorities considered it the participle of מָחָה, to strike, evidently reading here מָחָה. Thus, Theodotion translated καὶ οὐς ἠβούλετο αὐτὸς ἐτυπτεν, while the Vulgate has 'perecutiebat.' It is now generally accepted, however, that this is the participle of חָיָה, to live, as indeed the context plainly shows. (Cf. Bertholdt, *Daniel*, p. 362, 19; Hävernack, *Daniel*, 196; v. Lengerke, 257/8; Hitzig, *Daniel*, 83, etc. etc.) For this form מָחָה of the Haphel Ptc. of חָיָה, we may compare the Syriac Aphel 'axî,' with the Participle 'maxê.' Such forms are based on the analogy of the verbs mediae geminatae. Cf. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, §183, and the Aphel 'abez' parte. 'mabez' from the stem בָּוַע. מָחָה is not therefore to be considered as representing an original מָחָה, as Kautzsch thought (op. cit. p. 29 and see also Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 1018). Such an analogy between חָיָה and the stems mediae geminatae found in the Imperfect and in the Aphel of the verb in Syriac, is easily understood when it is remembered that the primitive form of חָיָה is חָיו ('xăyîwâ'—intransitive) a trace of which is still found in the Arabic حَيَوَانٌ, animal, and in the Aramaic חַיִּיתָא. This חָיו became naturally חַי which was itself a form עָע. It is interesting to note here that Syriac Aphel forms like 'abez,' Parte. 'mabez' of עָע verbs are in their turn based on the analogy of verbs פָּן. Thus, the Aphel of Syriac 'n'faq' is 'appeq,' Parte. 'mappeq.' For analogy in the Semitic languages in general, cf. Huizinga, *Dissertation on "Analogy in the Semitic Languages,"* Baltimore, 1891.

Verse 21. a) טָרִיד, Assyrian 'ṭarâdu' 'drive away,' (passim);—for ex. 'ina zumrišu liṭrud,' 'from his body may he drive it,' IV R. 15. 27b.

b) שָׁנִי. This reading as a passive is possible and, moreover, is indicated as the correct one by the old translators; Theodotion, ἐδόθη. Vers. Mass. τεθείται, Vulg., 'positum est,' Syriac, 'ešt'wē.' See also Lengerke, *Daniel*, p. 259; Hitzig, *Daniel*, p. 84. Kautzsch, op. cit., p. 81, however, reads here שָׁנִי, a third pers. pl. Pa'il, unnecessarily transferring the ך from the following word וְעַם. For the use of this

verb **שׁוּ** with the preposition **עִם**, cf. Pesh. St. John v. 18, "š'wā 'am," and in Hebrew the construction **נִמְשַׁל עִם** in Ps. xxviii. 1; exliiii. 7. In Hebrew the construction **שׁוּה כ** is also found; cf. Ps. xviii. 34. A precisely equivalent usage is that of the Assyrian 'emû kîma' for which see note to Cyrus Cyl. i. 11.

That 'emû' has the meaning 'be like,' is shown by the comparison 'emû' = 'mašālu,' V R. 47. 23a. It seems to me rather doubtful if the stem **שׁוּה**, Arab. sāwā', Syr. š'wā, is to be considered with Zimmern a common Semitic possession (Ztschr. für Assyriol., v. 85 ff.). He cites the Assyrian form 'šu-u-u' = 'šum-mu-u,' found V R. 28-87 e. f. as the Piel Infinitive of **שׁוּה**. (Cf. also Bussps., 16. E. A similar form to 'šu-u-u' is 'qu-u-u' = qum-mu-u also V R. l. c.) Zimmern then proceeds to argue that an original **ן** may remain in a few verbs **לֶה** in Assyrian, contrary to Haupt, Ztschr. für Assyriol. ii. 259. 86 and Beiträge, i. 293-300.

Although the occurrence in Assyrian of the three signs 'pi,' 'me' and 'ma,' indifferently used in the form 'u-ša-me,' mentioned by Zimmern, certainly does seem to indicate a *w* pronunciation, I am still by no means convinced that the *w* is necessarily a radical letter of the stem and that consequently 'ušame' ('ušawe') is to be considered the Intensive of a stem **שׁוּה**, and that 'šummû' = 'šu-u-u' are Infinitives of this Intensive. It appears quite possible to regard these forms as two variations of the Shaphel Infinitive of the stem **עִמָּה** = 'emû,' be like, resemble, and to consider the *m* as a radical. In this case the *w* pronunciation in the Shaphel Infin. 'šu-u-u' must be understood simply as a secondary *w* development from the original *m*, which is seen in the usual form of the Infin. Shaphel, 'šummû.' Furthermore, the stem **שׁוּה**, common to Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, may itself be a Shaphel formation from the same stem as Assyrian 'šummû;' i. e. from **עִמָּה**. Amiaud's idea that Assyrian 'emû' is to be derived, not from **עִמָּה** but from an original **הוּא** (??) seems to me quite untenable. (Cf. Ztschr. für Assyriol. ii. 205.)

c) **צִטְבַּע**—from **צִבְעַ**, which is possibly the same stem as in 'gubbu' 'finger;' i. e. 'the dipping member'(?). We may compare Assyrian 'çebû,' 'to dye,' found in the substantive 'çibûtum' = tinctio, immersio, II R. 30. 62 f. There are three words of this form 'çibûtum' in Assyrian; viz., besides the above; 'çibûtu' = 'desire' (see above note c. to v. 19), and 'çibûtu' = 'a precious thing.' Compare for these forms Jensen, Ztschr. für Keilschriftforschung, ii. 26/27.

Verse 25. a) For exhaustive discussion of this verse see ch. I. of this dissertation. **פֶּרֶסִין** = half-minas, from the stem **פֶּרַס**, meaning 'break' in the sense of dividing into parts. We may compare Jeremiah xvi. 7 and Isaiah lviii. 7, where it is used of the breaking of bread. The original meaning of **פֶּרַס**, therefore, seems to be 'a piece' or 'portion.' It is worthy of notice that only in the word 'half-mina,'

does the meaning 'half' belong to this stem, so that in this sense פֶּרֶם may be a loan-word in Aramaean. (See Hoffmann, *Ztschr. für Assy.* ii. p. 47.)

The form פֶּרֶשׁ with שׁ, discovered by Ganneau on the weights, may represent a distinctively Assyrian pronunciation of the word. (See in this connection, Nöldeke, *Ztschr. für Assy.* i. 418.)

Concerning the pronunciation of ס and שׁ in Assyro-Babylonian there seems to be a confusion of ideas among scholars. It seems evident that the pronunciation of these sibilants in Nineveh was not identical with that common in Babylonia, contrary to the idea of Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 131) that original שׁ in both Assyrian and Babylonian later became confused with ס, just as in Ethiopic. (See also his *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 108 and cf. Hommel, *Jagdischriften*, p. 29. 5 and *Semiten*, p. 509.) The difference between the sibilants seems not to have been a temporal one but rather local. It is evident from numerous examples in the inscriptions that שׁ was pronounced *s* in the northern kingdom but *š* in the southern, while ס was שׁ in Assyria, but had its true value in Babylonia. Thus, in the Assyrian inscriptions we find יְרוּשָׁלַם in the form 'Ursalimmu' with *s* for *š*, 'Asdûdu' for אֲשֶׁדּוּד etc., while the Babylonian month names Nîsânu, Hebr. נִיסָן; Kislîmu, Hebr. כֶּסֶּלּוֹ, etc. are sufficient evidence that ס and שׁ had their true value in the south. (For further examples and full discussion, see Haupt, *J. H. U. Circulars*, No. 59, p. 118.) The ordinary scriptural spelling of our word פֶּרֶם with ס is not then necessarily to be considered a later usage as Halévy thought, (*Recherches Bibliques*, p. 491), probably following the opinion of Delitzsch regarding the temporal difference between ס and שׁ.

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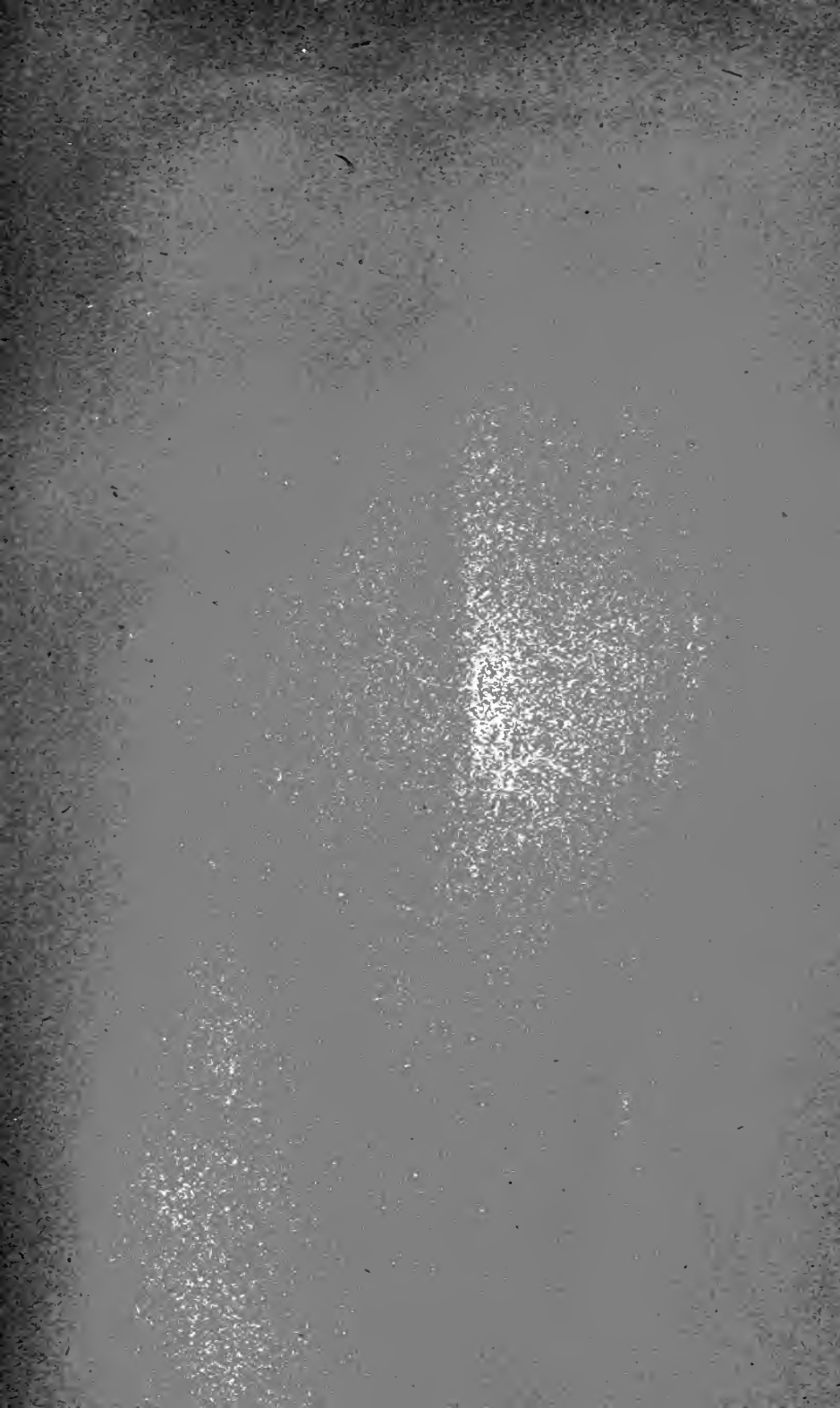
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